

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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ART. I.—*Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in Africa.* By the late John Leyden, M. D.; *enlarged and completed to the present time, with Illustrations of its Geography and Natural History, as well as of the Moral and Social Condition of its Inhabitants.* By Hugh Murray, Esq. F. R. S. E. 2 vols. 8vo. Edinburgh. 1817.

FROM the remotest period of European history, down to the present moment, discoveries in Africa have been eagerly prosecuted as an object of peculiar interest. The Phœnicians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Arabians, the Portuguese, the French, and the English, have all fitted out their expeditions to this quarter, some from a liberal spirit of inquiry, and with the view of extending human knowledge, some from a religious zeal to propagate the faith which they professed, and others from the all-powerful impulse of the ‘auri sacra fames.’ In the early ages we have imperfect traces of voyages undertaken to ascertain the extent of the unknown coast of this great continent beyond the pillars of Hercules, on the side of the Mediterranean, and beyond Cape Guadafui, on that of the Red Sea; and after those, as Mr. Murray observes, many endeavours ‘to penetrate into the depth of that mysterious world in the interior, which, guarded by the most awful barriers of nature, inclosed, as with a wall; the fine and fertile shores of northern Africa.’

No want of zeal is discoverable in those who embarked on any of the expeditions on record, whether ancient or modern, whatever the primary object of them might have been; and yet, to the reproach of the state of geographical science in the nineteenth century, as compared with the march of other branches of knowledge, if we cast our eyes on the chart of Africa, we shall see its grandest features distorted, or vaguely traced, or left incomplete:—so imperfect, indeed, is our knowledge of this vast continent, that in what are deemed the best charts, full two-thirds of it appear a blank; or, what is still worse, chains of mountains and trackless deserts, rivers, lakes and seas, are laid down *ad libitum*; their course and direction being determined by no other scale or dimensions than the mere whim of the map-maker, and many of them having, in all probability, no existence but on paper.

In the two volumes of Mr. Murray no pretensions are set up to new discoveries, no novel theories are broached, no favourite hypotheses advanced, nor is any condemnation passed on those which

have been formed by others. They contain a plain, sensible, well-arranged, and, as far as our reading and recollection serve us, a faithful abstract, and connected view of 'the progress of discovery in Africa from the earliest ages.' The author tells us that Doctor Leyden's '*Historical and Philosophical Sketch of the Discoveries and Settlements in Northern and Western Africa, &c.*' forms the basis of his publication; that his original wish was to preserve the portion of the narrative composed by Dr. Leyden, distinct from the additions here made to it; that such a plan, however, would necessarily have broken down the unity and connection of the work; and that 'there appeared a necessity therefore for taking down, as it were, the parts of Doctor Leyden's performance, and arranging them anew in the more comprehensive plan which is now adopted.' In our opinion Mr. Murray has judged wisely, in so doing, as otherwise, instead of supplying the world with 'a distinctly arranged view' of progressive discovery, he could only have furnished, at best, an ill-arranged piece of patchwork. That no injustice, however, may be done to the memory of Doctor Leyden, a list is given of the parts of these volumes for which the compiler is indebted to the labours of that gentleman, and which form, indeed, but a very small portion of the present work:—a work which we can safely recommend to those who take an interest in African discoveries, as containing, in a condensed form, an abstract of almost all the information hitherto collected of the geography of this immense continent, with brief notices of the manners and condition of its inhabitants.

As our review can embrace only a small part of the vast mass of information comprehended in the two volumes, it may be sufficient to give a brief summary of their contents; and then to abstract such parts of the narrative of 'discoveries and travels' as appear to be most interesting and important, and which we conceive to be those persevering enterprizes undertaken, first by the Portuguese, and afterwards by the English; adding at the same time, from our own sources of information, brief sketches of the history and character of those unfortunate adventurers, who have fallen a sacrifice to their zeal for discovery, and the enlargement of human knowledge.

The two introductory chapters are employed in tracing the progress of discovery from the earliest ages to the commencement of maritime enterprize in modern Europe—the various attempts of the ancients to circumnavigate Africa—the subsequent endeavours to penetrate into the interior—the history of the first entrance of the Arabians into Africa—their establishment on the Niger, and the foundation of Tombuctoo. The remainder of the volume, which is occupied by the first book, gives the progress of modern discovery

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very in the *interior*, commencing with the early voyages of the Portuguese along the western coast, from their first establishment at Arguin, to their settlement on the coasts of Congo, Loanga, and Benguela; and the various attempts of the missionaries to convert the natives to Christianity: this is followed by the early discoveries of the French, chiefly up the Gambia and Senegal; by those of the English on the same rivers, particularly the Gambia; by the travels of Saignier and Brisson on the Sahara or Great Desert; and lastly by an account of the formation and proceedings of the African Association, and the discoveries made by its several travellers from Ledyard to Park, concluding with the narratives of Adams and Riley.

The second book, which takes up the greater part of the second volume, exhibits the discoveries in the maritime countries, beginning with Abyssinia, the chief native power, and making the circuit of Africa by Egypt, Barbary, the western coast, round the great southern promontory, up the eastern coast to the point whence the writer set out. The third book occupies the remainder of the volume, and consists of, 1. An historical view of geographical systems relating to Africa. 2. Historical view of theories respecting the course and termination of the Niger. 3. A general view of the natural history of Africa, and 4. A general view of its moral and political state. Under the first two heads 'it is attempted,' says the author, 'to exhibit, as a branch of the history of science, a view of the progress of inquiry and speculation relative to this continent, from the earliest ages, rather than to indulge in present conjectures which a few years, it is to be hoped, would render superfluous.' Finally, to these are added several maps, and an appendix containing translations of some scarce and curious passages of the early geographers relating to central Africa, rarely accessible to the general reader. From this cursory analysis, it will not be difficult to form some notion of the nature and importance of the mass of matter included within these volumes. Indeed we are acquainted with few works of this kind that comprehend so much valuable information in so condensed a form, or in so small a compass: at the same time, however, it should not be concealed that it betrays evident marks of haste; and, were we disposed to find fault, we should also say that there is too little of the early Portuguese discoveries, and too much of those of modern date; more use, for instance, might have been made of the work of Tellez, which is a very scarce book; of '*Chronica de Companhia de Jezu em Portugal*,' which is equally so; and even of De Barros:—while a shorter abstract of Park and others, whose works are in every body's hands, would have been thought sufficient. A compilation, at once concise and comprehensive, requires more attention and judgment

than the world in general is inclined to admit, and, indeed, can only be properly appreciated by those who have been employed in the same way. The shelves of our libraries groan under the ponderous volumes of 'collections' and 'compilations;' too many of which are mere bundles of extracts in gross, first filed upon wires, like so many bills of parcels, and then printed off in the way that the worthy *emeritus* professor of the University of Salamanca used to send his two monthly volumes into the world.

At the remotest period of authentic history, the whole of the northern coast of Africa appears to have been well known: profane history may, in fact, be said to date its origin from northern Africa. But of the interior, the ancients possessed only a very limited and imperfect knowledge. The Great Desert was the boundary of their discoveries; all within it, and beyond it, was a *terra incognita* which never ceased to inspire emotions of wonder and curiosity, mingled with sensations of terror.

'It was the region of mystery, of poetry, of superstitious awe. The wild and strange aspect of man and nature, the immense tracks abandoned to wild beasts, the still more immeasurable deserts of sand beyond, and the destruction which had overwhelmed most of those who attempted to penetrate; all these formed, as it were, a fearful and mysterious barrier, drawn round the narrow limits occupied by the civilized nations of this continent. Every object which appeared through the veil tended to heighten this impression—the human race under an aspect and hue no where else seen on the globe; animals of strange form and magnitude; forms of society altogether uncouth and peculiar. Imagination, kept always on the stretch, created wonders, even where nature ceased to present them. No part of the interior was ever explored with such precision, as to deprive that active faculty of full scope for exertion; and the whole region was in a manner given up to fable.'

The rise of the Mohammedan power, and the irruption of the vast hordes of Saracens which poured into Africa, effected a complete revolution in the moral and political aspect of that continent. The commercial habits, the zeal for science, the migratory spirit of the Arabs, enabled this patient and abstemious people to overcome, for the first time, the difficulties of the desert, 'that barrier which deterred all former approach.' Its naked and desolate appearance had no horrors for the wandering Ishmaelite; it was but the copy of his native country on an enlarged scale; and its moving sands and naked surface of clay, sprinkled with flint, were equally familiar to himself and to his camel. Some of these enterprising men, attracted by the gold of Ghana and Wangara, and others, flying before the arms of the Saracens, crossed the great sandy desert, and established themselves on the banks of the Nile of the Negroes. Of the numerous kingdoms formed by these people about the tenth and eleventh centuries, Ghana was the most splendid and powerful.

powerful. The king's palace is described by the Arabian writers as a solid structure, adorned with paintings and sculpture, and having the rare luxury, at that time, of windows of glass. 'A mass of native gold, neither cast nor wrought by any instrument,' says Edrisi, 'but shaped by Divine Providence only, of the weight of thirty pounds, was fitted as a seat for the royal throne;' and 'tamed elephants and camelopardales are mentioned as among the accompaniments which swelled the pomp of the sovereign's equipage.' It would seem, that China is not the only country in the world where justice is demanded by beat of drum. 'Every morning,' says Edrisi, 'the captains of the King of Ghana come to his house, and one that bears a drum never ceases beating of it till the king comes down to the palace gate, mounts his horse, and all who are oppressed or grieved present themselves before him.'

Ghana, however, does not appear to have long maintained its superiority. At the period of Leo Africanus' travels in central Africa, some very important changes had already taken place. Ghana was become subject to the kingdom of Tombuctoo, founded, we believe, in the year of the Hegira 610 (A. D. 1215.) No very exalted notions can be formed of the splendour or magnificence of its celebrated capital, so long and so vainly sought, from the description of Leo; which, on the whole, agrees with those of more doubtful authority collected by modern travellers;—hovels built in the shape of bells, with walls of stakes or hurdles plastered with clay, and covered with roofs of reeds. Yet an extensive accumulation of huts like these scattered over a sandy plain, along the banks of a muddy river, and dignified with the name of city, is still an object of such anxious research, that neither difficulties, nor danger, nor personal privations, nor sufferings, have been able to deter a succession of daring adventurers from following up those attempts, in which their predecessors have not only failed, but generally perished. Impelled by a thirst of fame, or by an ardent desire to gratify curiosity—in short, by a resolution to do something that has not yet been done—perils and difficulties serve only to inflame ardour into enthusiasm. Tombuctoo, however, is, at least, a real object.—But a zeal not less ardent and unwearied, and enterprizes not less daring, distinguished the early career of the Portuguese. An imaginary personage of the name of Prester John, whose origin, abode and history appear to have been equally unknown to them, was the great moving power that gave activity and energy to their expeditions. 'The glory of the Portuguese name, the discovery of new worlds, even the opening of the sources of golden wealth, were all considered as subordinate to the higher aim of discovering the abode of a person, who was known in Europe under the uncouth appellation of *Prester John*.'

It may neither be uninteresting nor unamusing to bring together a summary account of the proceedings of English travellers, or those sent under the auspices of England, and particularly of the more daring adventurers for the hitherto prohibited city of Tombuctoo; and of the attempts of the Portuguese to discover the abode of Prester John; as to those two nations and two objects the world is mainly indebted for the knowledge it possesses of the vast continent of Africa.

The first Englishman who visited the *interior* of Africa, or, at least, the first of whom we have any account, was neither impelled by a thirst of gain, nor a spirit of curiosity; he was an accidental and involuntary adventurer. About the year 1590 one ANDREW BATTEL, being on board a Portuguese vessel that touched on the coast of Benguela, was left by the crew, as a sort of hostage, among the Jagas or Giagas, a ferocious tribe of the interior, who had come down to the coast, and laid waste the less warlike territory of Benguela. He describes these people as a wandering banditti, without possessions, industry, or arts; living on plunder, and desolating every country through which they pass; who murder their own children by burying them alive as soon as they are born, and recruit their numbers by carrying off the boys and girls of other tribes of thirteen or fourteen years of age, and training them up to their own way of life, which is 'to make war by enchantments, and take the devil's counsel in all their exploits.' With this savage horde Battel lived for many months; the time being chiefly spent in 'continually triumphing, drinking, dancing, and eating men's flesh.' Battel was a near neighbour of Purchas, and was considered by him as a man worthy of credit: there can be little doubt that he believed what he narrated, and his account of the man-eaters received a sanction from succeeding travellers. Lopez describes these Giagas as inhabiting the mountains behind Congo, and more especially those 'near the lake out of which the Zaire flows;' he mentions their laying waste the whole of the kingdom of Congo: and Merolla the monk, who at every step encounters a witch or a wizard, asserts 'that he saw the shambles, near the capital, where human flesh had been sold by them while they occupied that place; 'they offered it (he adds) very cheap to the Portuguese, whose object, however, was to procure their captives alive rather than to have their bellies filled with such barbarous food.' That the story of this human flesh-market should not be lost, Pigafetta's narrative of the wonderful adventures of Lopez, in the collection of De Bry, has been illustrated with an elegant plate in the best style of Wolfgangus Richter, exhibiting a butcher in his shambles, finer than any in Leadenhall-market, in the act of cutting up a young lady, and surrounded by legs, arms, hands, and various other joints,

joints, regularly suspended on hooks, and all beautifully *white*. But the stories of Lopez, of Merolla, and another good father of the name of Jerome, are such palpable fabrications, more especially those of the latter, who, with his rosary and the aid of the Virgin Mary, defeated whole armies; that whatever credit they might once have obtained, they are now unworthy of the least attention. Father Jerome asserts that, on the banks of the Zaire, the King of Concobella, who styled himself 'Lord of the Waters' and 'Ruler of the Elements,' fed his favourites with the flesh of condemned criminals; and that his majesty sent to him (Jerome) the carcass of one of the fattest and best conditioned, out of a gang of traitors, with a hope that it would be found tender and well flavoured. But even these are innocent, when compared with the audacious falsehoods of an ignorant and fanatical Capuchin of the name of Cavazzi, who seems to have raked together all that his predecessors had said before him, and to have added to them the suggestions of his own distempered imagination. 'The Jagas,' he says, 'are exceedingly fond of the flesh of young women, especially of their bed-fellows of the preceding night;' and he adds, 'that one of the most favourite dishes of the princes of this nation is a *fœtus* cut from the womb.' The ladies, too, it would seem by his account, are no less delicate in their taste than the gentlemen; for a certain princess is mentioned, who, to shew her great fondness for her gallants, feasted on them in succession:—but more of these Capuchins hereafter. We now know that not only the outrageous stories of this monkish dolt, but all the other accounts of cannibalism in this part of Africa, are entirely false; and that the people are invariably more mild and harmless, in proportion as they recede from the sea coast. The practice, mentioned by Degrandpré, on the coast of Congo, of cutting the bodies of certain animals in pieces, and exposing them to be devoured by birds of prey, may have given rise to the fables of early travellers; but among savages every horde represents to strangers the next to it as cannibals.

Had Mr. Murray consulted Hackluit's invaluable collection, (and we are somewhat surprized that he should not have made himself familiar with it,) he would have found accounts of many voyages along the coast of Guinea and to Benin, by Englishmen, previous to the patent of Elizabeth in 1588; as Windham's, for instance, in 1553, Lok's in 1554, Towerson's in 1555, and various others. The patent granted by Elizabeth was to certain merchants of Exeter, to carry on a trade to the rivers Senegal and Gambia; and accordingly, in 1591, we find that a voyage was undertaken by Richard Rainolds and Thomas Dassel to the Gambia, where they found the Portuguese in great numbers, who were exceedingly jealous of the new visitors,

and formed a conspiracy to seize their vessel and massacre the crew; but it was discovered and thwarted. Very little is recorded of the early voyages of our countrymen along the coast of Africa; but it would seem that the English merchants, who first established a trade on the Senegal and Gambia, soon felt an unbounded desire to explore the interior of western Africa in search of that which, in every age, has strongly tempted human cupidity—gold; and in 1618 a company was formed for the express purpose of penetrating to the country of gold, and advancing to Tombuctoo. GEORGE THOMPSON, a Barbary merchant, was the person selected for the enterprize. He sailed up the Gambia in a vessel of 120 tons, having a cargo on board of the value of £1857. At Kassan he left his vessel and proceeded up the river, but in his absence the Portuguese rose upon the crew, massacred the whole of them and seized the ship. Thompson, however, was not intimidated by this disaster, but formed his establishment in the upper part of the river, and wrote to the company for fresh succours; they sent out two expeditions; the first of which proved fatal to nearly the whole of the crew, from the inauspicious season at which it arrived: the latter, under the command of Captain Jobson, was more successful; but on its arrival at the mouth of the Gambia, the first intelligence which reached its commander was the death of Thompson. ‘A deep mystery,’ says Mr. Murray, ‘hangs over the fate of this first martyr in the cause of African discovery.’ It seems he had pushed up the river as far as Tenda, where, it is said, he was killed in a conflict with some of his own party.

JOBSON was not discouraged by this catastrophe of his predecessor. His first exploit was to seize a boat containing the effects of one Hector Nunez, who was considered as the ringleader in the seizure of Thompson’s ship. On reaching Kassan he found that all the Portuguese inhabitants had fled from the place. Proceeding upwards, he arrived at Jerakonda (the Jonkakouda of Park) where he met two of Thompson’s men. He next reached Oranto where Thompson had established his factory; here he was visited by the king, Summa Tumba, a blind man, who ‘made haste (Jobson says) to drown his wits in the aqua vitæ we brought him:’—but the great article of demand was salt. Sailing upwards, the country became more mountainous and barren; and the wild animals multiplied: there was ‘a world of sea-horses, whose paths, as they came on shore to feed, were beaten with tracks as large as London highway.’ He passed the falls of Barraconda, after which the navigation of the river became difficult and dangerous from rocks and shallows. From the top of a high mountain nothing could be perceived except ‘deserts replenished with terrible wild beasts, whose roaring we heard

heard every night.' Jobson saw in one group sixteen great elephants, and frequently 'twenty crocodiles one by another.' At length the party reached the hill of Tenda (the Koba Tenda of Park.) Here they were visited by Buckar Sano, the great merchant, accompanied by his wife and daughter and a troop of forty attendants. Buckar drank so much brandy that he lay the whole night dead drunk in the boat. Salt was here also the chief article of demand, and slaves that of supply; but gold was the object of Jobson's inquiry; and the black merchant inflamed his cupidity by assuring him that he himself had been in a city, the roofs of which were covered with gold!—unfortunately this African Eldorado was situated at the distance of four moons to the southward. Vast multitudes flocked to Tenda, some out of curiosity to see the white men, and others for the sake of trade—but salt was still the cry, and, as ill luck would have it, Jobson's stock was exhausted: however a few bottles of brandy procured from the king the entire cession of Tenda and all the territory around it. Jobson did not reside long in his new dominions; the mention even of two places in the neighbourhood, Tombakonda (the Tambacunda of Park) and Jaye, the first of which he concluded to be Tombuctoo, and the other Gago, described by Leo as abounding with gold, had not the power of retaining, or drawing him a step farther. 'Perhaps,' Mr. Murray observes, 'he conceived that, having reached the vicinity of Tombuctoo and the country of gold, and having discovered traces of the Arabs, or Barbary Moors, who, he was informed, visited this district, he had accomplished the main purposes of his mission, and that little could be gained by ascending farther.' Being favoured by the stream on his return, he reached Barraconda in six days, whereas it had cost him twelve to ascend. On his arrival at Kasan, he found that the climate had done its usual work—the master and great part of the crew of the vessel had died; and there remained not above four in a condition for any labour. He lost no time in sailing down the river; and returned safe to England.

The next Englishman who proceeded up the Gambia is called, by Captain Stibbs, VERMUYDEN, whose narrative is contained in a Memoir inserted at the end of Moore's volume of Travels. The vague and confused manner in which it is drawn up, the paucity of names mentioned, the quantity of gold said to have been met with, have created a suspicion of its being spurious; Stibbs, however, expresses no doubt of its authenticity. The Memoir opens with describing the situation of the principal mine of gold: You come first, the writer says, to a broad collection of waters not much inferior to Winandermeer in Lancashire. At the first fall, in the channel coming from E. S. E. ten pounds of sand produced forty-seven grains of gold. On passing the upper fall the sand, when washed, yielded
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gold in abundance; and on reaching the top of the rock he discovered 'the very mouth of the mine itself.' Not the least indication is given by him of the place where this source of wealth is situated, either with regard to its distance or relative position from any known spot; but an apology is made for his 'miserable ignorance of the mathematics.' He seems to have had no idea but that of finding gold. For this purpose he was provided with pick-axes, mercury, and the *virga divina*, the last of which, failing in its effect, made him the laughing-stock of his companions; but he defends the potency of his magic wand by ascribing its loss of virtue to the length of the voyage. His progress was stopped by a formidable fall, after he had proceeded so far that 'never any boat nor any christian' had ascended so high. This might well be; as it appears from his journal that he was out more than three months after passing Barraconda, whereas Jobson occupied only twelve days in reaching the utmost limit of his expedition.

All further attempts on the part of the English to penetrate by this channel into the heart of Africa, appear to have been laid aside for that time. They were renewed, however, about the year 1723, when CAPTAIN BARTHOLOMEW STIBBS was dispatched by the Royal African Company, with orders to navigate the Gambia, as high as possible, in search of gold. On his arrival, he found that Mr. Glynn, the governor, had been dead six months: his successor was a person of the name of Willy, to whom our adventurer applied for leave to hire canoes suited to the navigation of the river, but he was coolly answered that there were none to be had. Captain Stibbs then wrote an indignant letter, which he hoped 'would rouse him from his lethargy and give him more generous notions of the expedition;' but three days after, the Company's pinnace brought down his dead body. Two months were lost by the captain in procuring five canoes, and the season was far advanced before he started. He took with him fifteen Europeans, thirty Africans, besides several women and boys, and an interpreter who, being a Christian, considered himself a white man 'though as black as coal:' there was besides a *balafeu*, or African musician, 'to cheer up the men, and recreate them of an evening.' On approaching Barraconda he learned that the town had been destroyed, and its inhabitants carried off, by a hostile chieftain; he was further told that the country beyond it was destitute of all supplies, and possessed by a cruel and treacherous race; and the negroes in a body announced their determination to proceed no farther. No one, they said, had ever ascended beyond Barraconda; Barraconda was the end of the world; or, if there existed any thing beyond, it was a country of savages with whom their lives would be every moment in danger: and nothing short of the irresistible power of a bottle of brandy could prevail

prevail on them to stir a step beyond 'the world's end.' The people, however, proved to be very harmless, and supplied them plentifully with fowls and other provisions. Stibbs discovered that he was now got into the region of sea-horses, crocodiles, and baboons: in fifteen days he reached the flats near Tenda, when finding it impossible to proceed, he tacked and sailed down the river with all expedition.

In 1732 MR. HARRISON set out on an expedition up the Gambia, but he proceeded only to Fatatenda, whence, on finding that his sloop could get no higher, he dispatched one Leach in the boats towards the upper part of the river. Having sailed about twenty-two leagues above Fatatenda, Leach encountered a ledge of rocks stretching across the river, which appeared to present an insurmountable barrier to his further ascent, and he returned to the sloop.

About this time some intelligence was gained of the interior of Africa through a channel sufficiently remarkable. JOE-BEN-SOLOMON, a young African prince, had been sent by his father, the King of Bunda in the territory of Foota, to traffic on the Gambia, but with strict injunctions not to pass that river, as the Mandingos, on the opposite side, were deadly enemies of Foota; the prince, however, felt an irresistible desire to pass this forbidden boundary. He accordingly crossed the Gambia, and lying down in the heat of the day under a shady tree, he was attacked and seized by a party of Mandingos, who carried him to Joar, and sold him to a Captain Pyke, who was taking in slaves for the plantations in America. The captain readily allowed him to send to his father; but the ship sailed before the deputation from the king arrived with an immense ransom for the release of his son. He was carried to Maryland, where, it appears, he was so ridiculed and insulted by the white inhabitants for his strict observance of the Mohammedan religion, that at length he fled, was taken up as a fugitive slave, and thrown into prison. Here he was visited by several English merchants, and among the rest by one of the name of Bluet, who afterwards wrote the history of his life. His story soon reached England, and Mr. Oglethorpe, of the African Company, undertook to have him brought over with the view of restoring him to his native country. On his arrival he was introduced to the King and Queen, and was presented by the latter with a handsome gold watch. He learned to speak and write English, and assisted Sir Hans Sloane in the translation of some Arabic MSS. His memory was so good, that he wrote out three copies of the Koran merely from recollection. He sailed from England in July, 1734. On his arrival at Fort James a messenger was sent to his father to inform him of the event, for the return of whom he waited with great impatience for four months, at the end of which he received the melancholy news
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of his death, which happened almost immediately after learning the return of his son. Deeply afflicted with this information, Job set out immediately for Bunda; about which time MOORE, who has furnished these particulars, quitted the country, and nothing more was ever heard of this young African prince. Bunda is supposed to be the Bondou of Park, situated on the Upper Senegal, immediately to the east of Foota Torra.

Moore, the superintendant of the African Company's trading stations on the Gambia, collected and published a great deal of curious information respecting this part of Africa; but he did not himself penetrate so far into the interior as some of his predecessors. His account of the manners of the various tribes, of their drunken and brutal chiefs, of slave-catchers and slave-dealers, and of the commerce of the river in general, is interesting and valuable—but as the book is easily met with, it is unnecessary for us to notice it further.

From this period half a century elapsed without furnishing one adventurer into the interior worthy of mention. But the establishment of the AFRICAN ASSOCIATION in the year 1788 formed a new era and opened new prospects in the career of African discovery. Our readers are aware that the object of this society was to find out and engage persons, qualified by enterprize and intelligence, to make discoveries in the inland parts of Africa. It was composed of men eminent for rank and wealth, and still more eminent for zeal in the cause of science and humanity. 'The result of their labours,' as Mr. Murray observes, 'has thrown new lustre on the British name, and widely extended the boundaries of human knowledge;' at the expense, however, it is to lamented, of many valuable lives, for the loss of which the additional information gained will hardly be thought to compensate.

MR. LEDYARD, by birth an American, was the first geographical missionary employed by the Association. In mental and bodily qualifications he was singularly endowed for 'enterprizes of great pith and moment.' In early life his propensity for adventure had led him to pass several years among the American Indians. In the humble capacity of corporal of marines he had sailed round the world with Captain Cook. His next object was to engage in a trading adventure to Nootka Sound, and from thence to traverse the continent of America from the Pacific to the Atlantic. Disappointed in this scheme, he determined to traverse Europe and Asia as far as Kamschatka; and with this view, crossing to Ostend, he proceeded by Denmark and the Sound to Stockholm; and walked from thence, round the head of the gulf of Bothnia, to Petersburg. Here he arrived without either shoes or stockings, or the means of procuring them, till he had obtained from the Portuguese ambassador a supply of twenty guineas on the credit of Sir Joseph Banks.

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That gentleman also procured for him permission to accompany a detachment proceeding with stores to Yakutz in Siberia, six thousand miles to the eastward. From this place he travelled to the coast of the Kamschatkan sea, which he was prevented from crossing by the ice, and was obliged to return to Yukutz. Here he was seized by some Russian soldiers in the name of the Empress, and conveyed on a sledge, in the depth of winter, to the frontiers of Poland, and turned adrift, with the comfortable assurance that if he was again found in Russia, he would be hanged. He reached Koningsberg utterly destitute; but here again the credit of Sir Joseph Banks procured him the sum of five guineas, which enabled him to reach England. His first visit was to his benefactor, who communicated to him the views of the Association, in which he at once engaged; and on being asked, at what time he would be ready to set out—'To-morrow morning,' he replied without a moment's hesitation. Sir Joseph Banks wanted no more to inform him that Ledyard was the man he sought; full of energy, at once inquisitive and adventurous, unsubdued by difficulties and unappalled by dangers. He was particularly struck with the manliness of his person, the breadth of his chest, the openness of his countenance and the inquietude of his eye; his figure, scarcely above the middle size, expressed great strength and activity. Such was the person to whom the arduous task was assigned of traversing the widest part of the continent of Africa from east to west in or about the parallel of the Niger. From his arrival at Cairo in August, 1788, he constantly visited the slave markets in order to converse with, and obtain information from, the travelling merchants of the caravans. His account of the Egyptians, published in the Reports of the Association, is striking and original, and bears the strongest marks of lively and acute observation, of a mind free from all prejudice, or fanciful theory, and an understanding deep and penetrating. Had Ledyard committed to paper 'all he felt and all he saw,' no modern book of travels, we are well assured, would contain half so interesting or so instructive a picture of man in the various circumstances under which he appears, as would be found in the narrative; of which his own sufferings and adventures would not form the least attractive and important part.

'I am accustomed to hardships,' said Ledyard, on the morning of his departure to Africa; 'I have known both hunger and nakedness to the utmost extremity of human suffering: I have known what it is to have food given me as charity to a madman; and I have at times been obliged to shelter myself under the miseries of that character, to avoid a heavier calamity: my distresses have been greater than I ever owned, or ever will own, to any man. Such evils are terrible to bear, but they never yet had power to turn me from my purpose. If I live, I will faithfully perform, in its utmost extent, my engagement to the Society:
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and if I perish in the attempt, my honour will still be safe, for death cancels all bonds.'

The testimony which this accurate observer of human nature bears to the universal benevolence of the female character is so just, that it cannot be too often repeated.

'I have always remarked,' says he, 'that women in all countries are civil and obliging, tender and humane; that they are ever inclined to be gay and cheerful, timorous and modest; and that they do not hesitate, like men, to perform a generous action. Not haughty, not arrogant, not supercilious, they are fond of courtesy, and fond of society; more liable, in general, to err, than man, but, in general, also more virtuous, and performing more good actions than he. To a woman, whether civilized or savage, I never addressed myself in the language of decency and friendship, without receiving a decent and friendly answer. With man it has often been otherwise. In wandering over the barren plains of inhospitable Denmark, through honest Sweden, and frozen Lapland, rude and churlish Finland, unprincipled Russia, and the wide-spread regions of the wandering Tartar—if hungry, dry, cold, wet or sick, the women have ever been friendly to me, and uniformly so: and to add to this virtue, (so worthy the appellation of benevolence,) these actions have been performed in so free and so kind a manner, that, if I was dry, I drank the sweetest draught, and if hungry, I ate the coarse morsel with a double relish.'

Such a man, 'who,' as Mr. Murray observes, 'could ingratiate himself with the ferocious Moors of Egypt, could hardly have failed of obtaining a kind reception from the gentle and hospitable negro, had no untoward accident intervened.' But fate ordained it otherwise. In consequence of vexation from repeated delays in the departure of the caravan for Sennaar, he was seized with a bilious complaint, for which, most unadvisedly, he swallowed a large dose of vitriolic acid, and, to relieve himself from the violent pain occasioned by it, had recourse to another dose of tartar emetic. The result of such medicines in such a climate needs hardly be mentioned—this hardy traveller died under their operation.

MR. LUCAS was the next person engaged by the Association to explore the interior of Africa. He had been sent, when a boy, to Cadiz to be educated as a merchant; and on his return was captured by a Sallee rover and carried to Morocco, where he remained three years: after this he was appointed vice-consul and chargé d'affaires to Morocco, where he resided sixteen years. On his return, he received the appointment of Oriental interpreter to the British court. The knowledge which he had acquired of the manners and language of the Arabs fitted him peculiarly for the views of the Association; and he was engaged accordingly to proceed, in the first place, from Tripoli to Fezzan, with which Tombuctoo was understood

understood to have a regular intercourse. Whatever information he could obtain at Fezzan he was directed to transmit by the way of Tripoli, and to proceed himself either down the Gambia, or to the coast of Guinea. In October, 1788, he arrived at Tripoli, and was introduced to the bashaw, who inquired eagerly after the object of his journey to Fezzan, which, he observed, no Christian had ever attempted. Having satisfied the bashaw on this subject, he promised him assistance. While Mr. Lucas was waiting to accompany an army about to proceed against some revolted Arabs, two shereefs arrived from Fezzan with slaves and other merchandize; and as their descent from Mahomet secured their persons from violence and their property from plunder, Mr. Lucas wished to proceed with them,—to this the bashaw not only consented, but made him a present of a handsome mule; and the bey, his son, gave him a tent, and a letter of recommendation to the king of Fezzan. On the 1st February, 1789, their little caravan left Tripoli, and proceeded by the route of Mesurata. On the fourth day they reached the ruins of Lebida, the Leptis Magna of the Romans, where Captain Smith of the navy, of whom we shall presently have occasion further to speak, has obtained the permission of the present bashaw to dig for the remains of antiquity, and to bring away whatever columns of porphyry, fragments of sculpture, pieces of statuary, &c. he may think proper, without any restriction.—The following day they reached Mesurata, and were received with great kindness by the governor. But as no camels were to be had, the two shereefs retired, one to his native town, the other to his friends among the mountains, to wait till the journey should be practicable; while Mr. Lucas returned to Tripoli, and from thence to England. He had however employed himself sedulously during his stay at Mesurata, in procuring, from the shereef Mohammed, an account of Fezzan and of the countries beyond it towards the south, which he had visited as a factor in the slave-trade; and the accuracy of this account was confirmed by the governor of Mesurata, who had himself been at Fezzan; and at the same time a more decisive test of its value was obtained by the Association, in the absence of Mr. Lucas, through the narrative of Ben Alli, a native of Morocco, who had made extensive journeys, as a merchant, in the countries to the south of the Sahara. The report therefore of Mr. Lucas, in the proceedings of the Association, may be considered as authentic;—the only point, however, which we shall notice, is its agreement with all the Arab authorities in stating, that, about a hundred miles south of Cassina, the river, which is supposed to be the Niger, (but which is most probably a branch of it only,) *flows from east to west, and with such rapidity that no vessel can ascend its stream.*

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The failure of these first two essays was no otherwise discouraging than by pointing out the difficulties of the attempt to penetrate into the central parts of Africa from the north. The attention of the Association was therefore turned towards the Gambia as the point from which the course of the Niger could most effectually be explored. As a proper person for this purpose, MAJOR HOUGHTON was engaged in 1791, having made himself acquainted with the language and manners of the Moors, during his residence, as British consul, in Morocco, and with those of the coast negroes while fort-major at Goree. He sailed up the Gambia to Pisanía, the residence of the hospitable Dr. Laidley, and from thence to the Mandingo kingdom, at the capital of which, Medina, he was received with great kindness and hospitality by the king of Woolli, who gave him directions as to the routes by which it was possible to penetrate into the interior regions. Here also he collected information of these regions from the slates or slave-dealers, travelling shereefs and marabouts, which were forwarded to the Association by Dr. Laidley. His expectations of success were most sanguine. In his letter from Medina of the 6th May, 1791, he says—

‘ I have obtained the best intelligence of the places I design visiting, from a shereef here who lives at Tombuctoo, and who luckily knew me when I was British consul to the Emperor of Morocco in 1772. I find that in the river I am going to explore, they have decked vessels with masts, with which they carry on trade from Tombuctoo eastward to the centre of Africa. I mean to embark in one of them from Genni, in Bambarra, to Tombuctoo.’

From Medina Major Houghton advanced to Bambouk, and, after crossing the Falomé, at Cacullo, arrived at Ferbanna. Here he was received by the king of Bambouk with extraordinary hospitality, who gave him directions for his route to Tombuctoo, furnished him with a guide, and with money to defray the expenses of the journey. From Simbing, the frontier village of Ludamar, he wrote with a pencil his last letter to Dr. Laidley, dated 1st September, 1791, expressed in the following words:—‘ Major Houghton’s compliments to Dr. Laidley, is in good health, on his way to Tombuctoo, robbed of all his goods by Fenda Bucar’s son.’—At Jarra he engaged some Moorish merchants, who were going to purchase salt in the desert, to convey him to Tisheet, but it is supposed that he suspected the perfidy of his companions, and determined, at the end of the second day, to return to Jarra, when he was plundered and deserted by the Moors. He had been without sustenance for some days when he reached Jarra, a watering-place belonging to the Moors, where he was either murdered or suffered to perish, for want of food. His body was dragged into the wilderness, and left to waste under a tree which was pointed out to Park when

when at Jarra. Dr. Laidley endeavoured in vain to recover his books and papers. Thus perished the second victim to the discovery of interior Africa.

But the fate of these enterprising men neither discouraged the Association from persevering, nor deterred others from embarking in the same pursuit. MUNGO PARK, a native of Selkirk, had just returned from a voyage to the East Indies, in the capacity of surgeon to a ship: hearing of the plan of discoveries pursuing by the African Association, he offered his services, through the medium of Sir Joseph Banks, which were immediately accepted;—and in May, 1795, he sailed from Portsmouth for the river Gambia. The results of his travels are too well known to require any repetition in this place; suffice it to say, that they were of the greatest importance—they established a number of geographical positions, along a line of more than a thousand miles, directly east from the coast; fixed the boundary of the Moors and negroes in the interior; pointed out the sources of the three great rivers, the Senegal, the Gambia, and the Niger; and restored to the latter its true course as described by the ancients, the traveller having verified it by direct and personal inspection. This splendid discovery tended rather to increase, than to gratify, the ardent curiosity by which his mission had been prompted. He was led, by an irresistible impulse, to learn something more of the mysterious stream which no European eye except his own had seen;—to trace its progress into the unknown depths of Africa, and ascertain its termination. For this purpose he embarked, for the second time, under the auspices of government. Whether he lived to have his curiosity gratified—whether he be still existing in some yet unexplored region in the heart of Africa,—or whether, as is most likely, he has experienced the fate of his unfortunate companions, are questions which, in all human probability, will never be cleared up, till the great problem of the termination of the Niger shall be solved. On the 7th November, 1805, he launched forth on the stream of this celebrated river, and since that day no accounts of him deserving to be considered as authentic, have been received in any quarter. The story patched up between Isaaco and Amadi Fatouma, we deem to be wholly unworthy of credit:—but the number of years that have elapsed since his departure have nearly extinguished every hope, except in the breast of his son, a youth of fourteen or fifteen years of age, who is said to burn with an ardent desire to descend the stream of the Niger, and, like another Telemachus, to explore the unknown regions of central Africa, in search of a lost father. To the classical pen of Mr. Wishaw we are indebted for all that has appeared of the personal history of this interesting and celebrated traveller.

While Mr. Park was exploring the countries along the line of

the Niger, for the first time, Mr. BROWNE, a private gentleman, urged by a spirit of adventure, set out from Assiut in Egypt, with a view of getting into Darfûr, a country unknown to Europeans, except from some of its natives resident in Egypt, who seemed to possess a less intolerant spirit towards Christians than Mohammedans in general. From this point he conceived that the choice would be open to him, either to penetrate into Abyssinia by Kordofan, or to traverse Africa from east to west. For one of these purposes he left Assiut with the Soudan caravan, on the 28th May, 1793—passed through the Greater Oasis, (where the people subsist chiefly on dates,) and Sheb, famous for its native alum; and arrived at Sweini in Darfûr on the 23d July. He soon discovered, however, that the people of Darfûr not only considered him as an infidel, but as a being of an inferior species, whose colour was the effect of disease, or the mark of divine displeasure. His Egyptian agent, whom he had brought from Cairo, not content with robbing him, infused suspicions into the mind of the sultan, who ordered him to be confined to the town of Cobbé. The only person from whom he received any kindness was the melek of the Jelabs, or officer presiding over foreign merchants. By this man he was dissuaded from attempting to proceed to Bergoo, on the west, on account of the jealousy between that power and Darfûr; or to Sennaar through Kordofan, on the east, because of some insurrection there; and advised him to embrace the first opportunity of returning to Egypt. The sultan's permission, however, could not be procured for this purpose, till Mr. Browne contrived to alarm the merchants of the caravan, by hinting at the danger of their appearing in Egypt without him; when, after being deprived of all his remaining property by the sultan, he was permitted to depart, and reached Assiut in the summer of 1796, after an absence of nearly three years.

For several years Mr. Browne remained in England, enjoying that reputation which his intelligence and enterprize had so well earned; when the spirit of adventure broke forth afresh, and drew him from a state of peaceful inactivity. The central regions of Asia, so little known to us, were selected as the theatre on which his powers of research were to be exerted. Humboldt's description of the Cordilleras of the Andes excited in his breast an unconquerable desire to explore the Himalaya and the Hindoo Coosh; but it was ordained otherwise—for in his way thither, he fell, in Persia, by the hand of an assassin, who (it is supposed) was tempted to take away his life for the sake of the valuable property which he somewhat too incautiously carried about him.

The next adventurer employed by the African Association was FRIDERIC HORNEMAN, the son of a German clergyman, and educated at Gottingen. At his own request he was recommended by
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Dr. Blumenbach, who, in his letter to Sir Joseph Banks, observes, that to an excellent constitution Mr. Horneman united great literary acquirements, and a considerable knowledge of mechanics, both theoretical and practical; that he was patient of fatigue; in his form stout and athletic; in his habits temperate and abstemious; in his disposition cheerful and full of vivacity; and acquainted with sickness only by name. On the strength of these recommendations, he was at once engaged; and passing through Paris and Marseilles, reached Cairo in September, 1797, where he was detained; first by the plague, and then by the landing of the French at Alexandria, on the report of which he was seized and, with the rest of the Europeans, confined in the castle. As so few liberal acts are recorded of Buonaparte, it is but fair to mention that he no sooner learned, on his arrival in Cairo, the situation and destination of Horneman, than he sent for him, supplied him with passports, and made him liberal offers of money or whatever else might tend to facilitate his progress. On the 5th September, 1799, Horneman set out for Fezzan with the caravan; and on the 15th arrived at Umme-sogeir, a small village situated on a rock: two days more brought him to the oasis of Siwah, famous for its dates, and still more famous for the ruins of Ummebeda, which are supposed to be the remains of the celebrated temple of Jupiter Ammon, the object of unbounded veneration to the ancient world. Passing through Schiaca, Augita, Black Harutch, (the *Mons Ater* of the ancients,) and the vast plain of White Harutch, the caravan arrived at Teuissa, the frontier town of Fezzan; and, on the seventy-fourth day of their departure from Cairo, reached Mourzouk, the capital. During his stay at this place, Horneman collected much valuable and interesting information;—that which related to the Niger agrees with all the Arab authorities, which identify it with the Egyptian Nile. From Mourzouk, Horneman proceeded to Tripoli, whence he returned to Fezzan in January, 1800. In the April of that year, he writes that he is on the point of setting out with the caravan for Bornou, in company with two great shereefs, whose protection he conceives will afford him full security. From that time no accounts have been received of him, except that Mr. M'Donogh, the consul at Tripoli, was told by a Moorish merchant, that Jussuph, the name by which Horneman went, was well at Cassina about the month of June, 1803. The Association observe in their Reports of 1808 and 1809, that some uncertain rumours tended to encourage a hope that he might still be safe;—but the lapse of seventeen years must have extinguished the last faint gleam. A communication indeed has recently been received from CAPTAIN SMITH, employed in surveying the northern coast of Africa, which leaves little doubt that this ingenious and enterprising traveller died

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soon after his departure from Fezzan. The circumstances which led to this communication are exceedingly curious.—In a conference between Captain Smith and the bashaw of Tripoli, at which the Mamluke Reis, bey of Fezzan, happened to be present, the latter, on being interrogated respecting an expedition into the interior, in which he had recently been engaged, gave the following account. Proceeding to the southward from Mourzouk at the head of his army, and passing Bournou, he entered (he said) a country inhabited by a fine race of negroes, on whom he made war, and whom, after numerous encounters, he defeated and drove into a large river, in which the greater part of them perished. This river he called the Nile, and described it as running to the *eastward*. It was wide, but full of shallows; and long and narrow boats, carrying from five to fifteen or twenty tons, were passing and repassing. On his return, he fell in with a ruined city, heaped with the remains of large edifices, and filled with such numbers of statues as to have all the appearance of an inhabited place.—This description so fired the curiosity of Captain Smith, that he determined, if possible, to visit the spot, and the bashaw, who was then about to make war upon his son, the bey of Bengazi, obligingly ordered a party of Janisaries to escort him to Raz Sem, or Ghirza, which he apprehended to be the place meant by the bey of Fezzan.

On the 28th February last Captain Smith left Tripoli, and on the 3d March reached Benuleat. Here he learned that at Ghirza he would find plenty of figures of men, women, and children, intermixed with those of camels, horses, tigers, ostriches, and dogs, all in stone, to which they had been changed by Divine Providence as a punishment for their sins. After passing a dreary, mountainous country, they arrived on the 8th at Zemzem, about three or four miles from Ghirza. On reaching the spot, the mortification of our traveller will readily be conceived, at finding nothing but a few ill-constructed houses on the break of a rocky hill, and, at a little distance, a number of tombs constructed in bad taste, with ill-proportioned columns, and clumsy capitals, the frize and entablature of which were loaded with absurd representations of warriors, husbandmen, camels, horses, and other animals in low relief, forming, he says, the very worst attempts at sculpture that he ever beheld. Captain Smith thinks that, as this collection of tombs lies near the Fezzan road, travellers from the interior might occasionally turn aside to examine them; that these people, having never seen any other sculpture, probably described them in glowing colours to the inhabitants of Tripoli, and that their accounts, aided, perhaps, by the story of Nardoun, have gradually swelled into the tale of a Petrified City,—which has acquired such celebrity in Africa as to obtain universal belief. It has even been deemed a species of pilgrimage

pilgrimage to resort to the spot, and invoke a blessing on the petrified Moslems. With pious ejaculations of this kind, either written or sculptured, the pedestals, it seems, are actually covered. It was on this journey that, in the course of conversation, the bey of Fezzan told Captain Smith that, about seventeen years ago, an Englishman accompanied him on an expedition to the southward of Fezzan, died on the road in consequence of a fever, and was buried near Aucasas. The time and place exactly correspond with what has been surmized of the fate of the unfortunate Horneman.

On the very first landing of the Portugeze on the western coast of Africa, they understood that, far to the eastward of Tombuctoo, was a people who were neither Moors nor pagans, but whose religious ceremonies resembled their own; since which there is scarcely a traveller into the interior who has not heard some vague accounts of them. Horneman mentions a tribe of the Tuarick situated on the Niger, and named Zagama: the colour of these people was not black, neither had they the negro features; and they were described to him as being *Nazari* or Christians. Park also heard of a Christian nation on the borders of the Niger, and Jackson speaks of a race of Christians who are reported to dwell on the shores of a sea (or lake) fifteen days journey to the eastward of Tombuctoo. Captain Smith had frequent conversations with different persons on this subject, from which he collected that certain tribes 'of muscular negroes' near Wangara answer to the description. A French captain, who had resided twenty-five years at Tripoli, in the service of the bashaw, related to him, that on carrying some of these negroes from Tripoli to Algiers, an evening bell was heard from an European ship, on which those on deck manifested the utmost delight; and, calling up their companions, embraced them with great fervor, pointing to the vessel and repeating the word *campan*. On inquiring the meaning of this, he was told that, in their native town, there was a large building, having a bell, which every morning and evening summoned them to prayer; that in this edifice there was neither idol, mat, nor divan, and that the priest alone officiated. Captain Smith also learned that the late bey of Bengazi, who in his boyhood was brought as a slave to Tripoli, recollected some ceremony similar to that of the celebration of mass, and the use of consecrated wine. These are but vague notices; but the circumstance of the bell and the wine, combined with the absence of the almost universal rite of circumcision, would seem to indicate that the Mohammedan doctrines have not reached the central regions of Africa.

After all hope of Horneman had nearly been abandoned by the Association, two gentlemen offered themselves, the one, MR. FITZ-

GERALD, to proceed by the way of the Cape of Good Hope; the other, MR. NICHOLLS, to go whithersoever the committee thought fit to send him. The proposal of the first was rejected; we do not exactly see why, as, in our opinion, the interior of South Africa is an object of as great, and perhaps greater, interest than the interior of North Africa; being a much better country, and inhabited by a superior race of people. Had DR. COWAN and LIEUTENANT DONOVAN, who were sent by Lord Caledon to explore it, fortunately kept from the verge of the Portuguese settlements, where the slave-dealers reside, we see no reason why they might not have penetrated to Egypt or Abyssinia. Indeed there appear to be various places on the eastern coast of Africa, from which the interior might be explored with a more reasonable chance of success than from the opposite side; and we are rather disposed to think, with Lord Valentia, that Berbera, situated between Gardafui and the Strait of Babelmandel, and to whose great annual fair caravans resort from the interior, offers a point to set out from with the fairest prospect of visiting the Bahr-el-Abiad, or main branch of the Nile, whose source has been so long concealed in the solitudes of Africa.—A still nearer way to the regions both of the Nile and the Niger, which are commonly confounded by the Arabs, would be that of the Riogrande or Qulimané, near Melinda, whose source is probably on the opposite side of the same mountains which give rise to the Bahr-el-Abiad. We require better proofs of the ferocity of the interposing Gallas than the mere assertions of the Abyssinians, who are perpetually at war with them, and who, like all barbarous states, represent their next neighbours as the most savage of cannibals. Father Lobo threw himself among them, and it does not appear that they manifested any disposition to use the missionary as their traducers, the Abyssinians, treat their own cattle.

MR. NICHOLLS, the other volunteer, was sent to Calabar, in the Gulf of Benin, which is certainly the nearest point on this side of Africa, to the regions of the Niger; and must, indeed, be very near to that river, if it should be found to flow in a southerly direction. It was then believed, and has since been amply confirmed, that the Houssa merchants have frequent communications with Benin, and that no mountains impede the journey, which, however, is sometimes retarded by rivers and swamps. Mr. Nicholls arrived at Calabar in January, 1805: there he learnt that most of the slaves came from the west; and that the river of Calabar was not navigable to any great extent, being interrupted by a fall or cataract, which might be heard for several miles, and beyond which the land rose very rapidly. The same direction is given to the united streams of Rio del Rey, Calabar, Formosa, and several others, in the 'African Pilot,' on information collected from the old English, Dutch, and Portuguese

Portuguese slave-dealers; and there can be little doubt that instead of being a continuation of the Niger, according to M. Reichard's hypothesis, all these streams, which form the delta of Biafra, have their source in the Kong mountains, from the opposite side of which the Niger, the Gambia, and the Senegal take their rise. Mr. Nicholls did not live to make any discoveries in this quarter; he was seized with the fever of the country, and fell a victim to it.

The next adventurer in African discovery (but not, as Mr. Murray supposes, employed by the Association) was a German of the name of ROENTGEN. Neither was it this gentleman, to whom the committee of the Association alluded in their report of May, 1808, but Mr. Burchardt, whose name was then withheld from prudential motives. Mr. Roentgen was recommended by Professor Blumenbach to Sir Joseph Banks, as a young man of considerable talents, great zeal, and a good constitution. Though then only in his twenty-first year, he had performed many long and fatiguing journeys on foot, and particularly an arduous one across the Alps: but whether it was that he did not meet with the countenance and support which an ardent zeal had led him to expect, or that the proffered assistance was too tardy for his sanguine expectations, he was induced to resort to a private subscription, by which he raised the sum of £250; and this he deemed sufficient for his first essay. Instead, however, of setting out for Barbary, after properly qualifying himself to pass for a Mohammedan, and undergoing those strange preparations which we described in a former Number, such as eating flies and spiders—living on bread and water—leaving his bed to sleep under hedges in frost and snow, &c. to the surprise of all his friends, he set out suddenly with Mrs. Bathurst, on her journey to the continent in quest of intelligence concerning the death of her husband, who, it will be recollected, disappeared in a very strange and unaccountable manner in some part of Prussia.

On his return, however, he proceeded, in 1811, to Mogadore, intending to make his way through Terudant to Akka, on the confines of the Desert, where he hoped to find a caravan of Tombuctoo traders; and, by joining himself to their company, in the character of a merchant and a doctor, he expected, without much difficulty, to reach Tombuctoo. In the course of his Arabic studies at Mogadore he became acquainted with, and eventually took into his service, a renegade, who described himself as a native of Yorkshire, but born of German parents, and who, having been at Mecca, assumed the title of 'El Haje,' which may too frequently be considered as synonymous with 'vagabond.' Haje professed his readiness to accompany Roentgen, and became the confidant of his whole plan. The imprudence of reposing confi-

dence in a person almost entirely unknown at Mogadore, was strongly urged, but in vain, by the English gentlemen resident there; and equally vain was every attempt to induce him to delay his departure till he had acquired a sufficient knowledge of the Arabic language. Meanwhile, his residence in the town without any apparent occupation had attracted the notice of the governor, and he therefore resolved to take the first opportunity of commencing his journey: this was speedily afforded him by joining in an excursion of pleasure into the country, made by the few European residents at Mogadore. No one knew of his intention but the gentleman to whom we are indebted for these particulars. Accordingly, in the evening, when the rest were about to return to Mogadore, they learned, with surprize, that their companion was determined to proceed, though unprovided either with tent or bedding. The gentleman above-mentioned rode with him till eleven at night, when they reached the banks of the Tensift, where they were joined by the renegade, and two mules with the baggage, consisting of two or three *haiks* and rugs, a few articles of merchandise, a case of medicine, some books, among which were a Koran and an Arabic dictionary, and a set of mathematical and astronomical instruments. Roentgen had about 700 dollars in gold and silver coins, part of which he carried himself, and the renegade the remainder, sewed up in their girdles. At two o'clock the gentleman took his final leave of the traveller, who, there is every reason to believe, was murdered the same night. Various reports were in circulation at Mogadore respecting this murder, but the general suspicion fell on the renegade, who was never afterwards seen there. No appeal was made to the emperor to pursue the assassin, as Mr. Roentgen had never claimed the official protection of any consul or public agent; but an Arab was taken into custody at Morocco in consequence of offering for sale some articles suspected to have belonged to Roentgen; of these, a watch and a towel were afterwards identified at Mogadore; the Arab was tortured, but made no confession.

The melancholy fate of Roentgen was deeply lamented by all his acquaintance at Mogadore. He was a young man, our informant says, of a most disinterested and amiable character. In the pursuit of knowledge he was indefatigable. It is impossible for those who were not witnesses of his zeal, to form an adequate idea of the pains which he bestowed on the acquirement of whatever he considered essential to the success of his enterprize. He had accustomed himself to every variety of bodily fatigue, privation, and hardship; and he had succeeded to that degree in preparing himself to live on any species of food, to which he might be reduced, that there was scarcely any vegetable substance, however

nauseous

nauseous and loathsome, which he could not eat with apparent indifference. Botany and entomology were among his favourite pursuits in the neighbourhood of Mogadore, in both of which he had made considerable collections. In one excursion he had wandered from his company in search of his favourite objects, and when evening made it necessary to return, was no where to be found; every place was examined, his name was repeatedly called, but all to no purpose. At last, however, he was discovered stretched at full length, and motionless, on the ground, in a thick underwood. His eyes were closed, his pulse scarcely perceptible, his extremities cold, and from his mouth was emitted a thick foam. All endeavours having failed to restore animation, he was laid across a horse and taken towards the city: here he was put to bed, still in a state of insensibility; but in the course of the night happily recovered his faculties. He could give no account of what had happened to him, and was quite astonished when told of the state in which he had been found and conveyed home: it was ascribed, however, to his having eaten of some plant or insect of an intoxicating or poisonous quality, as nothing escaped his taste that appeared new to him.

Among the many valuable qualities of this unfortunate young man, that of prudence cannot certainly be included. Every difficulty immediately vanished before the influence of that enthusiasm with which his ruling passion for African discovery seemed always to inspire him. In all intercourse with the Moors and Arabs the utmost prudence and circumspection are required; but these Roentgen uniformly despised.* Utterly regardless of danger himself, he imputed the cautionary advice of his friends to constitutional timidity, or to the reserved and calculating spirit induced by commercial habits, and ill suited to a career like his. Fired with the glory which he was about to acquire by the success of his enterprise, and strongly tinged with *fatalism*, he seemed at some moments to leave all hazards entirely out of his calculations; and was frequently heard to declare his entire conviction, that he was the person *destined* by Providence to complete the discovery of northern Africa.

Of MR. LEGH's journey in Egypt and Nubia, as well as the involuntary travels of ADAMS and RILEY in the Sahara, we have already given such ample details, as to render a recurrence to them

* An instance of the imprudence and extravagances, into which his enthusiasm occasionally betrayed him, shewed itself on a visit which he made to Morocco. Arriving within sight of that city, and of the lofty range of Atlas beyond it, he broke out into such rapturous and extravagant expressions of joy, both in words and gestures, that the Moors about him concluded him to be mad. A circumstance to which he probably owed his life, as the Moors hold madmen as well as fools in a kind of superstitious regard.

unnecessary. MR. BURCHARDT, a Swiss, who has spent so many years in northern Africa and Arabia, as to be enabled, by his intimate knowledge of the manners and language of the natives, to pass, at will, for a Turk, an Arab, or a Moor, is still on his travels, and probably at this moment either a resident of Tombuctoo, or some other city on the banks of the Niger. His papers, we understand, are arranging for publication; and, from his character and experience, may be expected to contain more detailed and accurate information of the various people and nations visited by him, than has yet been communicated, from any quarter, to the European world. Should he even be disappointed in his object of reaching Tombuctoo, we shall at least have from him a detailed account of his journey from Upper Egypt, through Nubia, to the confines of Dongola, a great part of which is new ground.

Another traveller in this part of Africa deserves to be mentioned—CAPTAIN LIGHT, of the Royal Artillery, whose journal, we understand, has been given to Mr. Walpole, who is preparing for publication some tracts on the East. It contains a very brief, but striking description of the temples—the state of the country, political and natural—the trade and the employments of the inhabitants—their language, dress, and arms—with a list of the villages between Philæ and Wadde-el-fee, the last cataract, three days' journey above Ibrim, the highest point reached by Mr. Legh. Perhaps the most interesting of Captain Light's observations relate to the numerous remains of Christianity, altars, bas reliefs of the Virgin, &c. among the most ancient pagan temples which had been taken possession of by the early Christians for the purposes of public worship. In several places were also paintings of scriptural subjects of the Greek church. He found the square masonry forming the mouths of the mummy pits at Deer or Iddeer, loaded with Greek inscriptions and crosses, proving that Christians had been buried there; but the jealousy of the natives, who will never be convinced that curious travellers are not seeking for treasure, prevented him from gratifying a wish to procure some of the mummies, in the hope that a connexion might be traced between the Greek, the Coptic, and the Hieroglyphic, as it can scarcely be supposed that the two latter were dropped at once. He also learned that temples, with pictures like those which he had seen at Dakkee and other places, were found on the left bank of the Nile as far as Dongola, and he seems to have little doubt, that the progress of Christianity in the early period of its establishment, might thus be traced along that river into Abyssinia.

We have finally the melancholy task to notice the fatal issue of two recent expeditions, undertaken by the government, to explore, in every possible way, the course and termination of the Niger,
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—the first, under the conduct of CAPTAIN TUCKEY, of the navy, proceeded up the Congo or Zaire in southern Africa; the other, under the direction of Major Peddie, of the army, ascended the river Nunez, in north Africa, with the view of getting to the navigable part of the Niger by a shorter track than that pursued by Park, and of proceeding down the stream of that mysterious river wherever it might conduct him. Captain Tuckey was a brave and intelligent officer, of a zealous and ardent mind, well stored with resources, and not easily subdued by difficulties. His attention had been particularly directed towards nautical discovery and maritime geography, on which subject he drew up a treatise in four volumes, during a long and painful captivity in France. His lieutenant, Mr. Hawkey, was a fellow prisoner, who during his confinement had not neglected the improvement of his mind, and had acquired considerable skill in drawing. The master, Mr. Fitzmaurice, was an excellent surveyor. Three gentlemen of science, Mr. Professor Smith, of Christiana in Norway, botanist and geologist; Mr. Cranch, geologist and collector of subjects of natural history; and Mr. Tudor, comparative anatomist, besides Mr. Lockhart, a gardener from His Majesty's Botanical Garden at Kew, accompanied the expedition; all of whom, with the exception of the surveyor and the gardener, fell a sacrifice, not so much to the climate, as to the example set by their commander of an over anxious zeal to accomplish the great object of their mission. Finding the river above the cataracts to be hemmed in between a range of precipitous mountains which forbade all approach to its banks, and, for the distance of thirty or forty miles, bristled with rocks and foaming with rapids; and understanding, at the same time, that it again became navigable higher up, they were led on from place to place, until they fell down, one by one, completely exhausted by fatigue and the want of nourishing food, which brought on a fever not unlike, in its symptoms, to the Bulam fever; and so fatal, that out of thirty persons who set out on this land journey, sixteen perished before they left the river, and two in the passage across the Atlantic to Bahia. Captain Tuckey is said to have been the last who gave in, persevering to trace the river till it became a majestic sheet of water from four to five miles in width, forming, with its well-clothed banks, scenery not less beautiful and far more magnificent than any afforded by the Thames. From the disappearance of the mountains, the expansion of the river, its northerly direction, the rising of its water long before the rains set in, and from the information derived from the natives, he had no doubt, it seems, of the source of the Zaire being to the northward of the line; and if any faith may be put in Sidi Hamet's Wassanah, as described by Riley, as little can we doubt that the Zaire and the
Niger

Niger are the same. Riley, however, is a loose writer.* We will not here repeat the arguments for the identity of the two rivers,—of such a conclusion we may, however, safely venture to assert the increased validity, since the time they were first given in our Review.

The military expedition has been almost as unfortunate as the naval one. Its commander, MAJOR PEDDIE, died at Kacundy, on the river Nunez. The surgeon had previously fallen shortly after their arrival on the coast; and Lieutenant M'Kay shared the same fate up the river. Hearing of these misfortunes, and urged by an ardent desire to become a party in the hazardous enterprize, Lieutenant Stuckoe of the navy, who had been sent to Sierra Leone with a prize by Sir James Yeo, could not resist the temptation of volunteering his services; and actually set out to join the expedition. For this breach of duty, (for such we suppose it must be accounted,) it is to be hoped that he will not be too severely censured; for, had the party been fortunate enough to embark on the Niger, a marine officer would have been of infinite service in the navigation of the river.

On the 30th June, however, this officer returned to Sierra Leone with the melancholy intelligence of the death of CAPTAIN CAMPBELL (who had succeeded to the command) at Kacundy. He was stopped, it appears, at a place called Pangettoe, on the road to Labay and Teembo, about 150 miles beyond Kacundy, and delayed there for three months, in consequence of a refusal of the chief of the Foolaahs to let him proceed, on the plea of a war then existing between him and a neighbouring chief. At this place he lost the whole of his camels, his horses, and the greater part of his asses. Seeing no prospect of being able to proceed, he determined to retrace his steps; and, after many difficulties and privations, reached Kacundy with the loss of one man only;—and here he died, as it is said, of a broken heart. Thus fatally have these two promising expeditions terminated!

Colonel Macarty, the Governor of Sierra Leone, and all those on the coast who know any thing of the country, represented the route of Rio Nunez as the worst that could have been taken; and Kakundy, in particular, as the very focus of disease. The African Company, with more promising prospects of success, have pushed

* Our readers will recollect Riley's statement of the weight of his companions on their reaching Mogadore, which he plainly intimates not to have exceeded forty pounds each. Having some doubts of the possibility of such a reduction, we procured the skeleton of a middle sized man to be weighed—it was found to be 13½ pounds; the usual weight of the brain is 4½ pounds; that of the circulating blood 27 pounds; so that we have 45 pounds without either muscles or intestines. A proof yet more decisive, perhaps, of the inaccuracy of Riley's statement, is that of a consumptive patient, remarkably emaciated, who, after death, was found to weigh seventy-one pounds and one-eighth. How far this may affect the general veracity of Riley's narrative, we pretend not to determine.

forwards another expedition in a different quarter. On the 22d April last, a party consisting of Mr. JAMES, Mr. BOWDICH, Mr. HUTCHINSON, and Mr. TEDLIE, with various other persons, amounting in the whole to 130, chiefly consisting of natives of Cape Coast in the service of the Company, set out for the capital of Ashantee, with presents for the king. Their route was through Annamaboe and Abrah, the capital of the Fantees. It is intended that one of these gentlemen shall remain in the Ashantee country, for the purpose of keeping up a communication with the coast. Great hopes are entertained that much correct information may thus be collected regarding the state of this interesting people, and of the tribes further inland.

Low as Portugal is now sunk in the intellectual scale of European nations, her's is the unquestionable merit of having taken the lead in that spirit of discovery and maritime enterprize, which burst forth in the fifteenth century, with an energy not since surpassed. Yet, as we before stated, the grand object of her research was, as far as Africa is concerned, a mysterious (or rather an ideal) personage, whose residence was unknown. Rubriquis and Marco Polo mention this Christian priest-sovereign as residing in the central regions of Tartary, where he was afterwards sought for in vain; but the origin of the name and the place of his abode are not so difficult to be traced as Mr. Murray supposes. Prester, or Presbyter John, (it should be, no doubt, *Prester Khan*.) was the chief of a Tartan clan, who received at the hands of the Nestorian Christians the rites of baptism and ordination, when 'the missionaries of Balk and Samarcand pursued, without fear, the footsteps of the roving Tartar, and insinuated themselves into the camps of the valleys of Imaus, and the banks of the Selinga.'—'In its long progress,' continues Gibbon, 'to Mosul, Jerusalem, Rome, &c. the story of Prester John evaporated in a monstrous fable, of which some features have been borrowed from the Lama of Thibet, and ignorantly transferred by the Portugueze to the emperor of Abyssinia.' But though the eastern coast of Africa was thus determined as the residence of Prester John, many centuries after he had ceased to exist, they assigned to this fancied empire an extent equal to the fame of its monarch. In the progress of the Portugueze discoveries therefore along that coast, the first instruction to the adventurers was to inquire diligently for Prester John; they were directed to lose no opportunity of penetrating into the interior, and on learning the name of any sovereign, an embassy was to be sent to ascertain whether he was Prester John, or could inform them where this exalted personage was to be found. The shores of the Sahara, presenting nothing but a 'wild expanse of lifeless sand and sky,'
were

were frightful enough to check the career of the most enthusiastic adventurers, bent on the discovery of any thing less sacred than this celebrated non-entity : but when they reached the fertile shores of the Senegal and Gambia, and cast their longing eyes on gold and ivory, the ambition of conquest and of settlement was shared with the zeal of discovering the unknown idol. Their first essay in this way was the seizure of the island of Arguin, as a protection from the natives of the continent, who had put to death Nunez Rio and his men, while attempting to ascend a small river near the Rio Grande.

Scarcely had they established themselves on Arguin when a prince of the Jalofs, whose name was Bemoy, came thither to seek their aid against a relation, by whom, as he said, he had been unjustly deprived of his throne. This was a visit so unexpected and agreeable, that the governor dispatched a vessel with Bemoy and his train, to Lisbon. Here he was received with all possible honours, introduced to the king and queen in presence of all the grandees, and lodged in the castle of Palmela. At a private audience, he told the king of the riches of Africa, and mentioned Tombuctoo, Jenné, and other great cities, in which an immense trade was carried on ; but the circumstance, which above all others animated the zeal of his Portuguese Majesty, was the mention of a people far to the eastward of Tombuctoo, who were neither Moors nor gentiles, and who, in many of their customs, resembled the Portuguese ; —these the king at once concluded could be no other than the subjects of Prester John.

While an expedition was preparing, Bemoy was put under a course of instruction for receiving the sacrament of baptism, which was publicly administered on the 3d November, 1489 ; and on the same day, says De Barros, that he received this eternal honour, he was admitted also to the temporal honour of arms of nobility ; did homage to the king, as his liege lord, for all the lands he should gain by his aid ; and also to the Pope in the person of his commissary. The event was celebrated with feasts of horsemanship, bull-feasts, and puppet-shows.—If Bemoy was astonished, the Portuguese were not less so, at the activity displayed by his negro followers, who outstripped the Portuguese horses in speed, and leaped upon their backs while in full gallop.

The expedition, consisting of twenty caravels, having on board a number of soldiers, and materials for building a fort, was now ready to sail. The command was given to Pero Paz d'Acunha, who also took with him a corps of monks to convert the natives to the Christian faith, under the direction of Alvaro, a brother of the order of Dominicans. On entering the Senegal, a misunderstanding

ing unluckily arose between the commander and the African prince, the result of which was that Pero Paz stabbed Bemoy to the heart on board of his own vessel.

The news of this event caused great sorrow to the king of Portugal, and orders were sent out to desist from building the fort; the armament however was ordered to remain in the river, and embassies were to be sent to the most powerful of the neighbouring states. De Barros mentions, in particular, several missions that were dispatched to the king of Tombuctoo, and gives the names of the ambassadors. It is much to be regretted that this historian, who was furnished with the best and most authentic materials, has not thought fit to enter into any details of these early embassies, either as to the route pursued, or the state of the several countries through which they passed. May not these documents (we are almost tempted to ask) still exist in the archives of Lisbon? After having been placed in the hands of De Barros, there could then be no conceivable motive for destroying them; still less can there be now for concealing them: indeed we cannot help thinking, that an active search among the records of the state would well reward the labour, and we can hardly anticipate any reluctance on the part of the Portuguese government.

Bemoy's account of the people resembling Christians, to the eastward of Tombuctoo, may explain the several missions to that kingdom; but it does not appear that their inquiries after Prester John met with any success. As the Portuguese pushed their discoveries farther south, the indefatigable search for this Christian sovereign was extended in every direction. From the fortress which they had established on the gold coast, they sent a mission to a Moorish prince of the name of Mahommed, dwelling about one hundred and forty leagues in the interior, on the parallel of Cape Palmas, to procure some intelligence respecting this potent monarch.—The prince told the ambassadors that he knew but four powerful kings in the world—the king of Cairo, the king of Alimaem, the king of Baldac, and the king of Tucuirol. Of the person whom they sought, he had never heard. He added that of the four thousand four hundred and four kings, of whom he was the lineal descendant, not one had ever received or sent an embassy to any Christian prince; and that he had no intention to depart from their customs.

Farther south, as Diego Cam was pursuing his voyage of discovery, the sovereign of Beniu was inflamed with such holy zeal, that he sent to Mina to intreat for some missionaries to instruct him and his court in the Christian religion. In return, the king of Portugal sent an expedition under Fernando del Po, to explore the coast of Benin. Here he obtained information of a powerful sovereign

vereign called Ogané, whose kingdom was twenty moons journey to the eastward, who was held in the same kind of veneration by the chiefs of Benin, that the pope was held in Europe. When a king of Benin died, his heir sent ambassadors with a valuable present to Ogané, who in return sent him a staff, a covering for the head, similar to a Spanish helmet, of glittering brass, and a cross for the neck, similar to those worn by the commanders of the order of St. John, without which the people did not consider their sovereign to be lawfully established. During the stay of the ambassadors, Ogané was constantly concealed by a silk curtain; but when they took leave, a foot was thrust forward from behind the curtain, 'to which they did homage as to a holy thing.' On hearing this, the king of Portugal sent for his cosmographers, who, on consulting the map of Ptolemy, calculated that the reputed distance ought to reach the dominions of Prester John, and that this Ogané, therefore, must unquestionably be he. We hear nothing more however of Ogané, whose description agrees with no known monarch but that of Abyssinia, unless it may have reference to the Christian kingdom called Oggi, lying more to the S.W. in which Bermudez spent some time.

In proceeding to the southward, Diego Cam fell in with a strong current setting from the land: the water was discoloured and, when tasted, found to be fresh; these circumstances suggested the idea that they were approaching the mouth of some mighty river: it was in fact the Congo, or more properly the Zaire. Cam erected a pillar on the southern point, and then determined to ascend the river; the shores of which he found well peopled with a race of men very black, and speaking a language wholly unintelligible. He understood, however, that a very powerful monarch resided at a certain number of days' journey up the river, to whom he sent a party of his people with presents. As the men did not return at the time stipulated, Diego enticed on board several of the principal natives, and set sail with them for Portugal, telling the people on shore that he would return in fifteen moons: he kept his word, carried back the people of Congo, and recovered his own countrymen, who had been treated in the kindest manner during his absence. From this time, the Portuguese were inclined to keep up a friendly intercourse with the Congo and the kingdoms bordering on it; they built churches, and by means of missionaries, converted, or pretended to have converted, the natives to christianity, not a vestige of which, however, appears at the present day:—Though no tidings whatever were heard of Prester John in this quarter, they were consoled, in some measure, for the disappointment, by the settlements which they made on the coast, and by the abundance of slaves which in process of time those settlements yielded them.

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The search, however, was by no means discontinued. Both Bartholomew Diaz and Vasco de Gama received instructions to consider all objects of discovery as secondary to that of the sovereign-priest. De Gama, on his arrival at Mosambique, was gratified with certain faint glimpses of the abode of this august personage. Among the attendants of a native of Fez, who acted as the interpreter of the sheik, three men were observed to fall on their knees before the image of the angel Gabriel, on the stern of the admiral's ship. The Portugeze, on inquiry, found them to be Abyssinians, and shewed an anxious desire to converse with them; on this the Moors became jealous, and they saw the men no more; they had seen enough, however, to satisfy themselves that the dominions of Prester John must be in Abyssinia. The following year, (1499) Covilham and De Payva, who had been sent into the Red Sea in quest of further information, received such accounts of Abyssinia, as fully confirmed them in this belief. De Payva dying, Covilham determined to go himself into Abyssinia. He reached Shoa, where the emperor then happened to be, and was kindly received; but the ancient law which permitted no stranger to leave the kingdom, was enforced against him. Covilham, however, having lands and possessions heaped upon him, and finding himself a greater man in Abyssinia than in his own country, was not, perhaps, very earnest in his solicitations for leave to depart.

The Empress Helena, who governed Abyssinia during the minority of her son David, thought the opportunity too precious to be neglected, of availing herself of the pious zeal of the king of Portugal, to ask his aid against the Moors of Adel. She selected one Matthew, an Armenian, to be her ambassador, who, after many delays, arrived in Portugal, in 1513. The quality of the ambassador was not nicely scrutinized—it was enough that he confirmed the discovery of that venerable sovereign who had so long eluded all search, and that Portugal had the unspeakable glory of receiving the first embassy from so renowned a potentate. Matthew had all manner of honours heaped upon him: and an embassy was sent in return, at the head of which was Edward Galvan, an experienced statesman of the mature age of eighty-six, who, as might have been foreseen, died on the voyage. In 1620, Rodriguez de Lima, accompanied by Francisco Alvarez as his secretary, was landed at Massuah, and after some delays and difficulties on points of etiquette between the ambassador and the Baharnagash, or 'lord of the sea,' arrived at the monastery of St. Michael, after passing such mountains and torrents, and gloomy forests, as made 'the camels yell as if they had been possessed with devils;' and encountering droves of wild beasts that walked about with the utmost composure, with whole squadrons of apes as large as sheep, and as shaggy as lions.

lions. At length the travellers reached the residence of the viceroy of Augot, and were entertained at a feast in which cakes of *taffo* (teff) were served up, with *imbandigioni*, which Alvarez is shocked to mention as 'pieces of raw flesh with warm blood.' From hence they set out for court, and passed the celebrated mountain within which is the 'Happy Valley,' where the young princes of Abyssinia are confined. They next came to the place where the supposed *Prete* was encamped. The first day the *Prete* would not see them at all, and a band of thieves, which they were told was part of the court establishment, carried off a great part of their baggage. On the second day the *Prete* talked to them behind the curtains of his bed. On the third he sent for them again, but still kept himself invisible behind the curtains, and puzzled the ambassador not a little in discussing doctrinal points of the Catholic religion. About a fortnight afterwards they had the high honour of viewing this sacred personage seated on a scaffold, dressed in silk and gold, with a silver cross in his hand, and a crown of gold and silver on his head: he kept them, however, waiting at the outer gate nearly all night, before he condescended to admit them to the sight of his 'celestial countenance;' and soon after they were ordered out of their beds to receive their leave of absence. The particulars of this mission by Alvarez, form the first, and by no means the worst account, that has appeared concerning Abyssinia.

The aid subsequently afforded by Portugal to the king of Abyssinia was the means of procuring John Bermudez, a Romish priest, the appointment of patriarch. In this situation he does not appear to have borne his faculties meekly—he was therefore soon stripped of his office, and sent into a kind of banishment in the southern province of Esat. He was succeeded by Oviedo; this man, who, with a greater share of bigotry, had less command of temper than Bermudez, was very urgent in his solicitations for about fifteen hundred Portuguese troops, with which (he said) he would undertake to convert not only Abyssinia, but all the neighbouring kingdoms.

Pero Payz, another missionary in Abyssinia, was very superior, in every respect, to his predecessors. Instead of that overbearing insolence which disgusted the court, he used every means of ingratiating himself with the emperor; he built him a house after the European fashion, and made himself so useful that, by degrees, the emperor and his whole court were converted to the Romish faith. Payz describes the Abyssinian feasts of 'raw flesh and cakes of teff,' and the 'large mouthfuls stuffed in one after another as if they were stuffing a goose for a feast.' He describes also the very same sources of the Nile, which Bruce afterwards visited, and so minutely, that unless Bruce should have copied his description, (which

(which can hardly be suspected,) as he has imitated his rapturous expressions, there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of either.

Lobo set out, with seven other missionaries, to follow up the happy conversion of the Sultan Adamas Segued, whose name, Adamas, says Oviedo, signifying *adamant*, expressed his cruelty and hardness of heart, whilst that of Segued (*cego*, blind) aptly illustrated his mental blindness and insensibility to the mysteries of the holy catholic religion. Lobo landed at Quillimane, and proceeded about forty miles inland, where he met with the Galla, who eat raw cow's-flesh, and wear the entrails about their necks: but on learning that nine barbarous nations intervened between them and Abyssinia, he returned to the coast; and having landed on that of Duncale in the gulph of Aden, penetrated from thence into Abyssinia. He was sent to Damot on the south-western frontier, and crossed the Nile (the Bahr-el-Azrek) within two days journey of its source, on a raft, among multitudes of crocodiles and hippopotami. He describes the fountains much in the same manner as Payz and Bruce have done; and extols the magnificent and enchanting appearance of the cataract of Alata, which he calls 'one of the most beautiful waterfalls in the world, where he was charmed with a thousand delightful rainbows.' Damot he paints as the most delightful spot which he had ever beheld, the whole country resembling a garden of pleasure. In the civil discords that prevailed in Abyssinia, the Romish missionaries happened to take the wrong side, and sought the protection of a rebel chief, who sold them to the basha of Suakem, a most rooted enemy to the catholics, who talked of nothing but the satisfaction he should derive from impaling and flaying them alive. He was tempted, however, by a high ransom to set them at liberty, and they proceeded to Diu. Thus ended the intercourse of the Portuguese with Prester John, whom they had so long and so anxiously sought. In fact the labours of the missionaries appear to have been altogether works of supererogation, as the Abyssinians, by Lobo's own account, were already better catholics and entertained a more profound veneration for the Virgin Mary than themselves; the leading object of them all, however, was unquestionably that of superseding the authority of the Patriarch of Alexandria, and substituting that of the Pope in its stead. It is much to be lamented that some of these indefatigable men were not employed in copying a few of the ten thousand manuscript volumes in the library seen by Sig. Giacomo Baratti, among which, he was told, were the most ancient books in the world, 'being composed by the Egyptian sages in the time of Moses:' some of them (he says) appeared to be written on the papyrus: they were renewed by frequent copying; a task on which twenty-three persons were constantly employed.

The choice of missionaries sent by the king of Portugal and the Pope to the regions of Congo, was rather unfortunate. It seems to have been guided more by their talent for credulity and superstition, than by any regard to their intellectual capacities. These bigots were thrown upon that coast with no sparing hand—Propagandists, jesuits, capuchins by scores. No less than fourteen of the latter were dispatched from Cadiz in the same vessel in 1634, at the request of one Zingha, whom they dignify with the name of Queen of Matamba, one of the most horrible monsters that ever appeared on the face of the earth in a female shape. Having reached the town of Massignano, situated on the banks of the Coanza, about a hundred miles from its mouth, they underwent so much fatigue in baptizing the multitude that flocked to them for this purpose, that the whole fourteen were seized with the inflammatory fever peculiar to the country, and were under the necessity of submitting to a black phlebotomist, who assured them, that before the constitution would stand the climate, every drop of white blood must be taken out of the body, and its place supplied by good native black blood. In four months, by the copious bleedings and strong purgatives of this African Sangrado, (first of the name,) or rather perhaps in spite of them, they all recovered. Carli mentions his having been blooded ninety-seven times, besides losing many pounds of blood from the nose in the intervals; and the only way of satisfying himself that the thing was possible, is taking up the persuasion that all the water which he drank was converted into blood.

This Zingha bordered on the Giagas, among whom, as we have seen, 'human flesh is considered as the most delicious food, and goblets of warm blood the most exquisite beverage.' She was well known to the Portugueze at Angola, with the viceroy of which she negotiated a treaty in behalf of her brother, then king of Matamba, was there baptized, and initiated in the mysteries of the catholic faith. She soon found means to mount the throne; and by renouncing Christianity and adopting the system of the Giagas, induced these people also to choose her for their queen. With this accession of power she became formidable to all the neighbouring states; and for twenty-eight years went on in one steady career of conquest, crime, and butchery, combined with the most brutal voluptuousness; till, at the age of sixty-eight, the accidental sight of a cross smote her conscience, and induced her to apply for the pious instructions of the missionaries. She received them, on their arrival, with marked honours, fell prostrate before them, and shed abundance of crocodile tears, assuring them that, notwithstanding what had past, she had always been a good catholic in her heart. She built them a church of stakes and mud, covered with palm leaves; and they prevailed

prevailed on her to make public proclamation that no person should any longer offer sacrifices to the devil; that infants should not be thrown to the wild beasts, and that no one should eat human flesh: to put the finishing hand to this good work, they further prevailed on this penitent 'wizard' at the age of seventy-five to unite herself, for the first time, in the holy bonds of matrimony, with a young courtier of humble birth, but a good catholic. One alarming symptom of relapse only occurred, at the death of a favourite general, to whose remains the pious missionaries refused to grant a burial in holy ground. The queen, indignant at this refusal, determined to bury him with native rites. A number of human victims were accordingly chosen, and led, in barbarous procession, into the depth of a neighbouring wood, where a *tombo*, or deep pit, had previously been prepared. On a sudden, one of the missionaries made his appearance and raised the sign of the cross. The venerable Zingha fell on the ground, burst into tears, and ordered the victims to be dismissed; solemnly promising never more to permit the celebration of this inhuman ceremony:—and it is added, that she continued a good catholic to the end of her life, which she resigned on the 17th of December, 1663, in the eighty-first year of her age.

The missionaries to Congo appear, from their own accounts, to have exercised a fiery zeal unmixed with a single particle of discretion; and to have conceived that the ceremony of baptism alone was conversion to christianity: they baptised men, women, and children without any previous instruction, and then commanded, threatened, and even punished them for a breach of those ordinances, of which they were in utter ignorance. Of the country itself, the narratives of those few who have published their transactions, give no information; but their proceedings are singularly curious, and now and then throw a glimpse of light on the manners and character of the people.

The greatest enemies that the missionaries had to encounter in Abyssinia, as well as on this coast, were the ladies; for though in both countries they were mere articles of sale or barter, they were the first to protest, and take a very active part, against the abominable doctrine insisted upon by the missionaries, that each man should restrain himself to one wife: such a doctrine was equally repugnant to the interests and habits of the men; for as each wife not only provided for her own subsistence, but contributed to that of the husband, they were in every point of view a desirable possession. Father Jerome says, however, that having converted the King of Concobella (a place described to be about seventy miles above the cataract of the Zaire) he prevailed on him, out of five wives, and a host of concubines, to retain only one. But he was glad to escape out of the country; the nobles and the rest of

the people declaring, that, the immemorial practice was to keep concubines and eat human flesh, and that they were determined to admit of no innovation.

One of the missionaries to a petty kingdom to the south of Matamba, called Maopongo, or the Castle of Rocks, meeting with the queen, and a numerous train, giving an airing to a favourite idol, enforced his arguments against idolatry by the application of a whip to the body of her sable majesty; and it is astonishing, he says, how the process of flagellation gradually opened her understanding; till at length she confessed herself wholly unable to resist such sensible proofs of the excellence of his doctrine. The king was afraid to resent this usage, on account of the power of the Portuguese, on whose settlements he bordered; but the ladies of the court, not much approving of this new mode of conversion, determined to avenge the cause of their sex. For this purpose they selected, as their place of bathing, the opposite bank of a rivulet which flowed before the garden and dwelling of the missionaries; and here they delighted to exhibit themselves daily, in a state of primitive purity, and in attitudes not the most decorous. In great affliction, the fathers laid their complaint before the king, which, thus establishing the desired effect, made the relentless ladies redouble their efforts; and the only remedy left for the missionaries was to build a high wall in front of their garden.

It was a custom in Congo for a man, previous to marriage, to take a lady on trial. The missionaries were determined to abolish this ordeal, which, however, proved to be the hardest task they had yet undertaken. Merolla complains with great bitterness, that the females were always the most determined on having the benefit of this trial, and the most difficult to satisfy as to its results. They complained of this pertinacity to the mothers, but the mothers positively refused to take any concern in abridging the period of their daughters' probation. Father Benedict, however, succeeded in 'reducing six hundred strayed souls to matrimony;' but he confesses that 'it was a most laborious work;' as, indeed, the issue proved; for it brought on a fever which soon carried him off. In Abyssinia the women used to get rid of the missionaries by setting up, with their children, such afflicting lamentations and howlings wherever they came, as to make it prudent to keep aloof. Their neighbourhood, indeed, could not be very desirable, for it appears to have been a common proceeding with these good fathers, to whip the women out of what they called their idolatry and superstitions. At other times they endeavoured to frighten them, and Merolla is quite in love with himself for an expedient which he devised for this purpose. He stuck a dagger in the breast of an image of the Blessed Virgin, and besmeared the body with blood; and

and having delivered a long lecture on their superstitious and idolatrous practices, so distressing to the holy Mother, he drew aside a curtain, and shewed them what a wound they had inflicted, and how she shed her blood for their iniquities. At the sight of this deplorable spectacle, says Merolla, the hearts of the congregation melted, and they burst into the most doleful cries and lamentations.

Next to the women, the rulers were those against whom the missionaries principally directed the artillery of the Gospel. Father Jerome succeeded in converting one of the chiefs of Congo, and prevailed on him to dismiss his wives; but another having refused, lest it should cause a revolt among his subjects, the undaunted missionary seized a club, and running through the town, beat down all the idols in the streets; he then collected the fragments, and made a bonfire which set the whole air in a blaze: a body of men sent by the insulted prince saved the father, with some difficulty, from increasing the conflagration, by the addition of his own person to the pile. At Esseno he engaged the chief in his interest by exposing an impostor who called himself 'the God of the earth,' so that he assisted him in overthrowing no less than six thousand idols!—the consequence of which was that the people, to the number of 20,000, rose in arms against their sovereign, who had only four hundred; but Jerome, at the head of these, with the aid of his rosary and the Virgin Mary, easily put the rebels to flight.

This is not the only miracle that the Virgin performed in Congo. One of the kings of that country, named Don Antonio, incurred the displeasure of the Portuguese for not discovering what most probably had no existence, 'those gold mines which the Congolans had long promised.' To protect himself, he mustered an army of 900,000 men, of which, it seems, he could only bring into the field about 80,000; these, however, were quite enough to surround 400 Europeans and 2000 negroes; and so his majesty thought; for seeing a woman and child by the side of the Portuguese general, he called out to his men that they would have an easy victory over such people as these; little suspecting that the female which he beheld was no other than the Virgin Mary, whose presence secured a triumph to the faithful. The pagan host was accordingly routed, the king put to death, and the Portuguese set up another sovereign of their own chusing.

No permanent impression appears to have been made by the labours of the missionaries on the people of Congo; it would seem, indeed, that these simple people looked on the good fathers in general as objects of amusement. In parading them through the country, it was a favourite entertainment for the negroes to terrify them by calling out that the wild beasts were coming, and then to

laugh at their awkward attempts to escape by clambering to the tops of trees. Sometimes women presented themselves perfectly naked to receive baptism; and the anxiety of the missionaries to place some kind of covering before them was also a subject of great merriment to the giddy multitude. All this has long ceased, and we understand that in the whole line of the Zaire traced by the late expedition, not a vestige could be discovered either of the language or the religion of Portugal.

Sed manum de tabulâ.—In the course of our perusal of these volumes we had marked down several inaccuracies, some of them errors of the press, others the effect, perhaps, of hasty compilation—but we shall not stop to particularize them. We wish, however, to draw Mr. Murray's attention to this point in printing a second edition; and a second will, we presume, be thought necessary to render the plan complete, when the observations and discoveries of Mr. BANKES in Nubia, the great mass of information collected by Mr. Burchardt in various parts of Africa, and the journals of Captain Tuckey and Professor Smith, on the expedition to explore the sources of the Zaire, shall have made their appearance.

ART. II. *The Personality and Office of the Christian Comforter asserted and explained, in a Course of Sermons on John xvi. 7. preached before the University of Oxford in the year 1815, at the Lecture founded by the late Rev. John Bampton, M. A. Canon of Salisbury.* By Reginald Heber, M. A. Rector of Hodnet, Salop, and late Fellow of All Soul's College. Oxford. 1816.

WE have always considered the University of Oxford particularly fortunate in the establishment of the Bampton Lectures. The founder framed his bequest in a manner most likely to attain his object, and clogged it with no conditions of a contrary tendency. By fixing the number of lectures to be annually delivered, at the moderate quantity of eight, he provided that they should be of a sufficient bulk to call forth the industry, and exercise the talents of the lecturer; nor did he, by requiring too much, and imposing too heavy conditions, deter able and deserving candidates, not otherwise unemployed, from engaging in the undertaking. By annexing the express condition that the lectures should be published within a stated period after their delivery, he excited the lecturer to the exertion of his best endeavours, by forcing him before the bar of public opinion; and by entrusting the nomination to the heads of the different colleges in the university, he embraced the

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most effectual means of procuring the appointment of such persons as were likely to do credit to the university and to themselves.

The benefits resulting from the institution have been fully equal to all that the founder could reasonably have anticipated. The persons selected to preach, have for the most part been those whom their known character and qualifications pointed out as proper for the office, and the series of lectures which has resulted from their labours, has been highly honourable to the university and useful to the public. That, in such a series, the standard of eminence which is attained by some should be reached by all, it were impossible to expect. But, of the several lecturers, we do not hesitate to say that, while few are deficient in that degree of merit which it was reasonable to anticipate, very many exhibit excellence of a most decided and superior character; and, viewing the Bampton Lectures as a whole, we consider them as containing a large fund of theological learning, and as exhibiting the matured fruits of much patient investigation and diligent research. We likewise consider them as having materially contributed to keep alive a proper attention to theological studies in the university of Oxford, and as having been greatly instrumental, amongst the public at large, in checking the growth of religious delusion, and preserving the sound knowledge of Christian truths.

Mr. Heber, whose lectures, delivered in 1815, and published in 1816, come at present under our notice, is not unknown to the literary world as a juvenile poet and a traveller. He now appears, for the first time as we believe, in the character of a theological writer; but we venture to assure those readers who form their anticipations of the merit of this production from the established character of the author of *Palestine*, that they will not be disappointed in the actual perusal.

It might appear at first sight that the subject which he has selected, the Office and Personality of the Christian Comforter, has been so fully treated by other divines, both those who have taken this subject for particular discussion, and those who have included it among their general topics, that there was scarcely room for the production of much new matter or new argument respecting it. With regard, however, to the labours of his predecessors in this field, and to the considerations which have induced him to employ his talents and industry in it, Mr. Heber thus expresses himself:—

‘Those mighty champions of English and Christian orthodoxy, who, in the demonstration of our Lord’s divinity and of the atonement of sin by his blood, have left behind them labours which no sophistry can shake, no following talents rival, have been contented, for the most part, to refer incidentally and slightly to the being and function of the third Person in the Trinity, as if He, by whom we are sanctified to
life

life eternal, were of less moment to Christians than He, by whom we are created and redeemed; or, as if the existence of the Holy Ghost were not exposed to the same, or even ruder assailants than have denied the Godhead of the Son.

‘Nor, of the few whose inquiries are professedly directed to the assertion of the being and elucidation of the office of the Holy Ghost, is there any who has embraced so copious a view of the subject as to deny to succeeding labourers the hope of advantage in discussing its subordinate branches. With much of natural acuteness, and a style which, though unpolished, is seldom wearisome, Clagitt had too little learning to be ever profound, and too much rashness to be always orthodox. Where he exposes the inconsistency of the Puritan arguments, his work is not without a certain share of usefulness; but for the purposes of general edification we may search his pages in vain; nor would he have preserved so long the share of reputation which he holds, if it had not been for the circumstance that he was Owen’s principal antagonist. Ridley, whose talents and acquirements have not been rewarded with the fame to which, far more than Clagitt, he is entitled, has erred, nevertheless, in the injudicious application of heathen traditions; and both Clagitt and Ridley have altogether neglected the consideration of the office of God’s Spirit as the peculiar Comforter of Christians.

‘Among those who are not members of our English church, Dr. Owen’s voluminous work on the Spirit is held in high estimation; and, in default of others, has been often recommended to the perusal not of dissenters only, but of the younger clergy themselves. But in Owen, though his learning and piety were, doubtless, great, and though few have excelled him in the enviable talent of expressing and exciting devotional feelings, yet have his peculiar sentiments and political situation communicated a tinge to the general character of his volume, unfavourable alike to rational belief and to religious charity. His arrangement is lucid; his language not inelegant; and his manner of treating the subject is at least sufficiently copious. But, as he has most of the merits, so has he all the imperfections characteristic of his age and party; a deep and various but ill-digested reading; a tediousness of argument, unhappily not incompatible with a frequent precipitancy of conclusion; a querulous and censorious tone in speaking of all who differ from him in opinion; while his attempt to reconcile the Calvinistic doctrine of irresistible Grace with the conditional promises of the Gospel may be placed, perhaps, among the most unfortunate specimens of reasoning which have ever found readers or admirers.

‘Of recent authors, where blame would be invidious, and where it might seem presumptuous to bestow commendation, I may be excused from saying more than that the plan of the present Lectures will be found to differ materially from any with which I am yet acquainted. There is another, however, and a greater name than all whom I have noticed, whose Doctrine of Grace (those parts at least which belong not to temporary fanaticism and factions best forgotten) must ever be accounted, so far as its subject extends, in the number of those works which are the property of every age and country, and of which, though
succeeding

succeeding critics may detect the human blemishes, the vigour and originality will remain, perhaps, unrivalled.

‘But, on the Personality and Deity of the Holy Ghost, the genius of Warburton is silent; and that occasional rashness, which is the attendant curse on conscious power, has destroyed, in his writings, that uniform and wary accuracy which alone can so far occupy the ground as to deny to succeeding inquirers the hope of advantage or discovery. On ground like this, indeed, (the most fertile, perhaps, in tares, and the most liable to invasion of any in the Evangelical heritage,) our labours can never be superfluous; nor are they to be despised, who bear, with whatever strength or fortune, their efforts and offerings to the common stock of knowledge and virtue; who, following the path of more illustrious adventurers, beat down, as they revive, the hydra heads of sophistry; whose occupation it is to eradicate those weeds of error which aspire to wreath their poisonous tendrils round the fairest pillars of the sanctuary, and to chase those obscene birds of darkness and rapine, which from time to time return to scream and nestle in the shadow of the altar of God.’—pp. 11—16.

In proceeding to the discussion of his subject, Mr. Heber proposes to inquire, 1. Who that Comforter was, whom Jesus engages to send. 2dly, Whether the promise of His aid was confined to the Apostles only, or whether all believers in Christ in that and every succeeding age of the church have reason to deem themselves included—and 3dly, Wherein that aid consists, which was thus graciously promised by our Lord.

The second and third lectures are employed in considering the first topic, the person of the Christian Comforter. We recollect that the Unitarian writer, Mr. Belsham, who is one of the most *intrepid asserters* that have ever come to our knowledge, in this or any other age, has thought proper to affirm, in one of his late publications, that he conceives there are now few, if any, reflecting persons, who believe in the existence of the Holy Spirit as a separate person in the Godhead. An affirmation tolerably hardy,—since he must have known that a belief of the existence of this Divine person is maintained, not only by the national church of this kingdom, but by the Roman Catholic church, and by Christians of all denominations, with the exception of his own scanty sect: and therefore, in making this assertion, he insinuates against all such Christians a direct charge of either pretending to believe what they really do not, or else maintaining an article of faith without ever examining the grounds of their belief. We, in return, venture to assert, that we conceive there cannot exist a single individual who believes in the divine authority of the Scriptures and is able to understand their true meaning, and willing to make a right use of it, who can possibly entertain the slightest doubt of the existence of this Divine person. If, however, we thought that Mr.

Belsham,

Belsham, or any of those who subscribe to his strange dogmas, had minds open to conviction, we should recommend to them the perusal of this part at least of the Lectures of Mr. Heber. They would there find it proved with great compass of learning, and great clearness and strength of argument, that the Scriptures most manifestly speak of the Christian Comforter as a person and as a Divine person; that they have been uniformly so understood by the main body of Christian believers from the very age of the apostles in a constant succession to the present time; and that the notion, which is often brought forward by our opponents, of the belief of the Holy Spirit having crept into the Christian church from the dogmas of Platonism, is at once futile and extravagant. Among other points of view, in which Mr. Heber considers the subject, he exhibits, in the following forcible manner, the absurdity of supposing that the orthodox doctrines of Christianity were introduced into the church at a period subsequent to its first institution.

‘If the orthodox opinions arose in the Church from any teaching but that of the Apostles themselves, there must, doubtless, have been a time at which they were unknown. And on whatever pretence and by whatever artifice their introduction was effected, its author, whether reformer or innovator, could not, we may be sure, have produced so great a change, without a painful struggle against previous opinion, and a display of talents of some kind or other which must have insured him the veneration of his followers.

‘The name of reformer or restorer, in the general estimation of mankind, is little less illustrious than that of first discoverer. Luther, we know, as well as Melancthon and Calvin, professed to teach no novelties; but to inculcate a return to the primitive models of doctrine and faith and worship. Manes and Mohammed revived, as they pretended, the original tenets of the Messiah; yet when will these men or the changes which they effected pass away from the memory of the world? Had such a revolution as our antagonists suppose taken place in the Christian Church during the first century of its existence, would not the volume of Eusebius have teemed with its details, and would not the teacher by whose agency it was accomplished have assumed a scarcely less lofty rank in the estimation of his followers than Peter or James or John?

‘Such a teacher as is here supposed would have been honoured by Trinitarians as the second founder of Christianity; as the reviver of a Church oppressed by Jewish prejudice; as the comforter and purifier of the afflicted household of Jesus. His patient journeys from Syria to Spain, and from Alexandria to Lyons, while disseminating the revived opinion; his arduous disputes with the patrons of established prejudice; his fearless indifference under the anathemas of the impious, and the holy zeal which mocked the arts of Ebionite blandishment; all of which the Arians (if their sect had triumphed) would have related of their supposed reformer; all would have swelled, beyond a doubt, the

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annals of religious controversy, and have remained as a sacred legacy to the gratitude and imitation of succeeding Trinitarians.

'But for this elder and greater Athanasius we search the page of history in vain. Of such a convulsion no traces are found in the writings of the earliest Fathers. They, like ourselves, treat every opinion but their own as an impious and daring novelty; and acknowledge no other founder or renovator of the faith than that omniscient Spirit who separated Barnabas and Paul to the work of converting the Gentiles.

'Nor will it be said by those who are even moderately acquainted with the ordinary progress of opinion, that a change so considerable could have been effected in night and silence; that "the corruption was so gradual that its original author is unknown; that the venom devoured the vitals of religion, before those outward symptoms were displayed which would have produced, at first, a prompt and efficacious remedy."

'The time is too short, the years too few, the body too extensive, for an imperceptible cause to produce effects so portentous. The corruption of a single Church might have been effected in a few years of neglect and ignorance; but to pervert the whole empire of Christ with one universal contagion, must have required the lapse of more than a single century. The transition which is rapid must be painful; and whatever is painful will neither pass unobserved nor be speedily consigned to oblivion. If such a change as this has not been noticed by contemporary writers, we may be sure that it never took place at all.'—pp. 150—153.

Having discussed the personality and divinity of the Holy Spirit, our author enters on the inquiry—whether He was promised, in the passage of John xvi. 7, which he assumes as his text, as a peculiar comforter to the Apostles, or to the universal church of Christ.

'But this inquiry,' he says, 'need not detain us long; since the same Divine Teacher by whom the promise of a Paraclete was given, has promised also that he should remain for ever with those who were to be the objects of his care. But this expression, "for ever," is not personally applicable to the immediate hearers of Christ, and that the promise cannot therefore be confined to them, is apparent from the very fact of their mortality. For the words of our Saviour do not, it may be observed, imply that the continuance of the Comforter with them was to be to the end of their lives. If this had been the case, we might reasonably have doubted whether succeeding generations were included in the promised benefit. But it was not "till death," nor "always," nor "continually," that the Paraclete was to abide with those to whom he was promised. It was "for ever," "eternally," or, "to the end of the world," *εἰς τὸ αἰῶνα*, and it answered in purport to the remarkable expression whereby, after his resurrection from the dead, and immediately before his return to heaven, our Lord assured them of the perpetual continuance of his own protecting care. But an eternal guardianship and comfort can only be exercised on an eternal subject. It is therefore

therefore as a collective body, and as an endless succession of individuals, that the Church of Christ received the promise here recorded; and it will follow that it was communicated to the Apostles, not as its exclusive inheritors, but as the representatives of all who in after ages, by their means, should believe on the Son of God.'—p. 228.

In the latter part of the fourth lecture, our author digresses into an inquiry concerning the part which the Holy Spirit had sustained in the scheme of God's providence, as previously displayed in the patriarchal and Mosiac dispensations. His discussion is learned; but many readers will be inclined to consider it of too abstruse and mystical a character, and as scarcely tending to any important elucidation of the Holy Scripture.

Mr. Heber proceeds in the last four lectures to consider the office of the Christian Paraclete, and the nature and measure of those benefits which the faithful disciples of their Lord derive from His powerful assistance. It must be quite superfluous for us to mention, even for the benefit of those readers who are most uninformed in matters of theology, that, respecting the nature, the mode, and the degree, of the operation of the Holy Spirit on the minds of Christians, the controversial discussions in the church have been various and extensive, and that from mistaken ideas on this subject the wildest tenets of delirious enthusiasm which have prevailed in Christendom, have been derived. Mr. Heber presents the subject to us in the most sober and correct point of view. His opinions are equally removed from those who attribute too much, and from those who attribute too little to spiritual influence; from those who deny the doctrine altogether, or maintain it in such a form as to amount to an actual denial of it, and from those who expect from the Holy Spirit on every ordinary occasion perceptible impulses, sudden conversions, and sensible illuminations. Numerous passages occur in this part of the Lectures, in which the ordinary influence of the Spirit on the minds of Christians is pointed out with equal force, and elegance of language. We give the following passage as a specimen.

'By its agency on the natural faculties of the soul, that influence, indeed, supplies us with recollections ever seasonable to support or to subdue our weak or rebellious nature; it hallows our thoughts by attracting them to hallowed objects; it strengthens our virtuous resolutions by renewing on our mind those impressions which gave them birth; it elevates our courage and humbles our pride by suggesting to our recollection, at once, our illustrious destiny and the weakness of our unassisted nature.

'By itself it teaches nothing, but without its aid all human doctrine is but vain. It is this which gives life and strength to every religious truth which we hear; this which imprints on our soul and recalls to our
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attention those sacred principles to which our reason has already assented. Distinct from conscience, but the vital spark by which our natural conscience is sanctified, it both enables us to choose the paths of life, and to persist in those paths when chosen: and, though, like the free and viewless air, it is only by its effects that we discern it, it is the principle of our moral as the air of our natural health; the soul of our soul, and the *Schekina* of our bodily temple!

But, by itself it teaches nothing. It prepares our hearts, indeed, for the word of life, and it engrafts the word in our hearts thus opened; but that living word and whatever else of knowledge we receive must be drawn from external sources. "Faith," we are told, "must come by hearing, and hearing by the word of God;" nor can we hear "without the voice of a preacher."

'The inspiration (as we have already defined it) of religious perception and memory, God's ordinary grace, induces the soul to behold the truth of those doctrines which external opportunities of knowledge offer to her understanding; it preserves and refreshes in her memory those principles of action, of which we have already perceived the force; it is the blessing of God and his pervading energy, which prospers to our salvation what we learn, and what we have learned: but when we pass beyond these limits, we invade the regions of miracle and prophecy; and it is no less inaccurate to suppose, that in the ordinary course of things we receive a new *id  a* from the grace of God, than it would be to maintain that all our knowledge is derived from the lamp which lights our study.

'Like that lamp, the grace of the Most High enables us to trace, in the oracles of salvation, the things which belong to our peace: like that lamp, it helps us to renew the decayed impression of knowledge long since obtained; and, without such heavenly aid, the unassisted soul would be as unequal to the pursuit or perception of her eternal interests, as the unassisted eye to read in darkness. But, whether by celestial or earthly light, we can only learn from that which is before us; and the one can no more be said to communicate a new revelation to our soul, than the other to place a fresh volume on our table.

'I do not say, that grace doth not possess an active power, which not only enables us to attend and recollect, but frequently compels our attention and recollection. Nor am I rash enough to deny, that God may, by any operation or any medium whatever, communicate to our souls, when he thinks proper, any imaginable, or, to us at present, unimaginable knowledge. But this may be without offence maintained, (and I am the more anxious to state it clearly, because it is this particular point on which enthusiasm is most frequently mistaken,) that it is by the *illustration*, not the *revelation* of truth, that God's Spirit ordinarily assists us; and that the latter is one of those cases of divine interference, of which neither the present age of Christianity, nor, perhaps, any preceding age since the time of the Apostles, affords us an authentic example.'—pp. 378—382.

Towards the close of his Lectures, Mr. Heber considers the influence which the Holy Spirit exerted on the minds of the sacred penmen

penmen while they were employed in transmitting to future ages the records of eternal truth. He obviates the charge of obscurity in the sacred writings, which has on some occasions been dwelt upon with much exaggeration, to the implied impeachment of their divine origin, and concludes with the following striking passage.

‘ But, in the essentials of salvation, and to those who sincerely desire to be taught of God, are the Scriptures really obscure? Let those bear witness, whom, by these means alone, the Spirit of God has guided into all necessary truth! Let those bear witness who have fled from the perturbed streams of human controversy to this source of living water, whereof “if a man drink he shall never thirst again.” Let the mighty army of the faithful bear witness, who, believing no less than they find, and desiring to believe no more, have worshipped in simplicity of heart, from the earliest ages of the Messiah’s kingdom, the Father, the Son, and the comfortable Spirit of God! I do not, God forbid that I should in this place, and before so many of those who must hereafter unite their amplest stores both of classical and sacred learning in his cause from whom we have received all things!—I do not deny the efficacy, the propriety, the absolute necessity of offering our choicest gifts of every kind on the altar of that religion to whose ministry we are called, and of concentrating all the lights of history and science to the illustration of these wonderful testimonies. But, though, to illustrate and defend the faith, such aids are, doubtless, needful, the faith itself can spring from no other source than that volume which alone can make men wise to everlasting salvation, that engrafted word which, though the ignorant and unstable may wrest it to their own destruction, is, to those who receive it with meekness and with faith, the wisdom and the power of God.

‘ By this book the Paraclete has guided the Church into whatever truths the Church of Christ has, at any time, believed or known; by this book, and the doctrine which it contains, he has convinced the world of sin, and justified the Son of Man from the malicious slanders of his enemies; by this book he consoles us for the absence of our Lord, and instructs us in things to come; by this he reigns; where this is found his kingdom reaches also; by this weapon, proceeding from the mouth of God, shall the enemies of his Christ be at length extirpated from the world; and by this, it may be thought, as by the rule of God’s approbation, shall the secrets of all hearts be, finally, made known, in that day when “whosoever is not found written in the book of life, shall be cast into the lake of fire.”

‘ Wherefore, holy brethren, partakers of the spiritual gift, seeing that we have not followed after cunningly devised fables, let us each in his station, abound in the labour of the Lord, diffusing as we may that saving knowledge, the possession of which alone could make it expedient for the disciples of Christ that their Master should depart and leave them; And let us pour forth, above all, our fervent prayers to that Almighty Spirit, who hath given us these holy records of his will, that, by his supporting grace, they may bring forth in us the fruit

fruit of holiness, and the harvest of life without end, through the mercies of the Father, the merits of the Son, and the strong protection of the Comforter."—pp. 580—583.

From the extracts we have given, our readers will have been enabled to form their own opinions of Mr. Heber's manner. His conception, in our judgment, is strong, his imagination fertile, his expression nervous, and his general style well sustained. At times, however, he is deficient in ease and simplicity, and, if we may so express ourselves, hurried by the imagination of the poet, beyond those bounds of sobriety within which the preacher should remain. Occasionally, too, he makes allusions to the classics, which we hardly think consistent with good taste, or propriety, in discourses from the pulpit, even when delivered before a learned body. Upon the whole, however, we consider these discourses as highly creditable to the talents and learning of Mr. Heber, and as forming a very useful accession to the series written for the Bampton lectureship.

ART. III. 1. *Geschichte Andreas Hofer*. 8vo. pp. 460. Leipic. 1817.

2. *Beiträge zur neuen Kriegsgeschichte* von Friedrich Forster. 8vo. pp. 222. Berlin. 1816.

THE name of Hofer was at one time familiar in our mouths, and we yet remember the lively interest felt in this country for the cause in which he fell. It had not, it is true, all 'the pomp and circumstance of glorious war' to dignify it; but our admiration was, nevertheless, excited by the gallantry displayed by the Tyrolese, and our sympathy called forth by the hard fate to which they were compelled to submit. In the struggle, we could only participate in a remote degree; our armies were not, as in Spain, identified in the contest; and neither in its duration, nor in the importance of its results, will the Tyrolese war bear a comparison with that of the Peninsula: still, however, it must be considered as occupying a very interesting portion of the history of that time, and it cannot therefore be a useless task to collect whatever is known of those men, by whose ability and enterprize an undisciplined body of peasantry were for some time enabled to keep in check the united force of Bavaria and France.

Few works on the subject have yet reached England, and of those few none, we believe, have been translated; so that our countrymen's knowledge of the chief actors concerned in the struggle is necessarily vague and indistinct. Of those which have fallen into our hands, Bartholdy's work is by far the most interesting, and though he has been accused of garbling the official communications

which he received from authentic sources, and of occasionally dealing in romantic exaggeration, (especially in his relation of Speckbacher's adventures,) we are inclined upon the whole to credit his statements. It is too evidently his object throughout to throw discredit upon the conduct of Austria in regard to the Tyrol, and to represent in an unfavourable light the measures adopted by her agents in that country; and to this feeling must be attributed many of the inaccuracies into which he has fallen; but by comparing his accounts with those contained in the works before us, we shall be in possession of pretty nearly all that is known on the subject, and probably arrive at the real truth.

The 'History of Hofer' would more properly be called the history of the war in which Hofer was engaged. It is an assemblage of official documents, political reflexions, and military details, put together in no very orderly or workmanlike manner; yet it is, as Sancho would say, nevertheless a history, and valuable for the information it contains, derived, apparently, from authentic sources. We suspect, indeed, from the air of authority which pervades it, that we owe this production either to Hormayer himself, or to some one who has been furnished by him with the necessary materials.

The other publication, by Forster, is the first number of a collection of papers, which each separately relates to some military event of importance in the late wars of Germany. This work, we understand, has made a great impression in that country, as well as in Russia, owing to the character of veracity which is conceived to belong to it. In the first article will be found a compendious and well written account of the events which took place during the particular period under our notice; and it contains, in addition, a detail of the military operations of the Archduke John against the French under Beauharnois and Macdonald, in the territory of Friul, as well as an interesting account of the defence of the Malborghetto passes, called by the author the Thermopylæ of the Carinthian Alps.

Those inhabitants of the Rætian and Vindelician Alps, who are described as witnesses of the exploits of Drusus, were the ancestors of the Tyrolese of the present day. Through the exertions of that chief, or those of Tiberius, this country was first brought under the dominion of Rome; and colonies were founded there by Augustus, who no doubt saw the importance of maintaining such an opening to the heart of Germany. With this view he occupied himself in the opening of roads through the difficult parts of the mountains; and was thus enabled (as Buonaparte has been, in later times, by the military road over the Simplon) to transport troops without impediment through passes which had hitherto been considered impracticable for large bodies of men. In 476, the Tyrol fell, with the Roman power, into the hands of the Goths; it afterwards be-
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came subject in succession to the Lombards, the Franks, and the Bavarians. From the uncertainty of its boundaries and the inequalities of its surface, this most singularly romantic portion of Europe was designated by the name of the Mountainous Region, ('Landes im gebirge,') and parcelled out amongst a variety of petty lords spiritual and temporal. The German emperors were interested in maintaining this order of things, for while the Tyrol continued in this divided state, a free passage was open at all times for the troops of the empire. At the peace of Verdun, in 843, when Bavaria was first raised to the rank of a kingdom, that part of the ancient Rætia which lay between the sources of the Inn and the Drave, and which was then divided into several *lordships*, formed a portion of the possessions of the newly made king. But when the commotions, which were soon after occasioned by the tyranny of Charles the Fat, furnished his nobles with an opportunity of declaring their independence, the lords of the Tyrol followed their example, and emancipated themselves from the Bavarian yoke, engaging only to furnish a certain number of troops when the state should be in danger.

Otho the second, duke of Bavaria, dying in 1248 without issue, his territories were divided, and the greater part of those in the valley of Venosta and Sole fell to the lot of Albert, count of the Tyrol, and possessor of the ancient castle called Teriolis, from which the country received its name. At the death of Albert, his estates passed by marriage into the hands of Mainhard, count of Goertz, whose son (also of this name) was the first who obtained a decided ascendancy in those parts. He appears to have been a person of considerable talent, and was one of the chief instruments in the elevation of Rodolph of Hapsburg to the imperial throne. After him, the most conspicuous personage whom we find in the records of these times is a certain Margaret, commonly called the Maultasch,* a lady of a very decided character; cruel in her disposition, and as loose in her principles and habits of life as the Fredegondes and Brunhilds of the old French history. She had connected herself by two successive marriages with both the Houses of Austria and Bavaria, but the indignity to which we have alluded in the note, is said to have determined her to convey her possessions to the former power. It was in vain that the Duke of Bavaria opposed the execution of her will. The Emperor Charles IV. obliged him to cede to Austria, for a certain sum of money, all his rights to

* For the origin of this name two derivations are given, which speak little for the beauty of the lady, or the courtesy of the age in which she lived. She owed this appellation, according to some, to her deformity; according to others, to a box in the ear which she received at the court of Munich, at the hands of her brother-in-law;—the more probable origin is to be found in its being the name of one of her favourite towns.

the Tyrol;—and since this epoch that province has remained an appendage in the Austrian family, of which the princes bear the title of Counts of the Tyrol.

It is a singular and Providential arrangement in the economy of the human mind, that although a love of change is strongly prevalent in our nature, yet by habit we acquire a taste for that to which we are accustomed even where it has little intrinsically to recommend it to our regard: this disposition, which leads us rather

‘————— to bear the ills we have

Than fly to others which we know not of,’

may partly explain that affection which has been shewn, in some instances, by a whole people, for a defective government; but it can never account for that devoted attachment which the Tyrol has, at various times, manifested for the House of Austria. This must arise from a higher and more creditable feeling; and although ‘*stare in antiquas vias*’ is certainly not the favourite motto of the present day, we do not the less appreciate the merits of those who respect it. It was not that, in the system of government pursued by the Austrians, there was any pretension to Utopian perfection, any peculiar nicety in the exercise of its functions; but it was mild and considerate to the wishes of its subjects; it studied to avoid shocking the national prejudices, and to keep alive the free and independent spirit which prevailed amongst these hardy mountaineers. As a barrier to the south of his dominions, the Tyrol was invaluable to the emperor; it has been called the shield of Austria, and it was in this light alone that she estimated its importance: as a proud appendage it was every thing to her; as a source of revenue nothing. She was satisfied with the hearts and devotion of the people. To the Tyrolese themselves the connexion with the Imperial House was most precious, not only from the benefits which they enjoyed by it, but from motives of a higher and more disinterested description. With it were associated all the recollections of the most brilliant periods of their country’s history; all the exploits of the Maximilians were identified with their own, and no peasant could visit the magnificent tomb in Innspruck of his favourite hero, the first emperor of that name, without experiencing sensations of exultation and self-importance.

Secure in their fastnesses, little visited by strangers, and free from all the contamination of inflammatory publications, perhaps there is no people of modern Europe who have partaken so little as the Tyrolese of the restless spirit which has pervaded other quarters, or have remained so unmoved amidst the commotions which shook the allegiance of the countries around them. Neither the disturbances which accompanied the Reformation, nor those which marked the rising of the peasantry (*bauernkrieg*), ever extended

to these provinces; whilst the neighbouring district of Salzburg was in a state of frequent uproar.

Why then, it has been said, did Austria ever desert such men, and leave them, as she did, to shift for themselves? The answer is a very simple one.—She had fought nobly, but she was beaten—and when kings are compelled to give up their daughters to the conqueror, they can have but little power to secure better terms for the rest of their subjects. It was thus the Tyrol was transferred to Bavaria;—a bad exchange, as that power thought, for the duchy of Wurzburg. The situation indeed of this newly established kingdom was widely different from that of Austria before her disasters.—With an accession of greatness came an increase of expenditure; and, in order to maintain the large military establishment which Buonaparte required, and which was far above her means, she was obliged to exact contributions from the Tyrolese to an extent to which they were before completely unused.

To the mild and indulgent sway of the House of Austria, succeeded a system of vexation and oppression which drove to desperation a people who are of all others the least capable of being ruled by violence; and we cannot wonder that the result should be a deep and irreconcilable hatred.

‘Bavaria,’ says Muller, ‘seemed intent on impoverishing and oppressing her new subjects; the constitution was overthrown which had lasted for so many ages; the representative states were suppressed, and the provincial funds seized. All ecclesiastical property abolished, prelaties and convents confiscated; and amongst the public buildings exposed to sale, the ancient castle of the Counts of the Tyrol was not even spared. New imposts were daily exacted; specie became scarce; the Austrian notes were reduced to half their value; and to crown all, Bavaria had it in contemplation to change the very names of her new acquisitions, and to incorporate them with her hereditary dominions.*

These, it must be confessed, are no ordinary acts of severity; but the stern manner in which the Bavarian government enforced them proved far more irritating to the feelings of the natives than the acts themselves: those, however, by which they felt themselves more particularly aggrieved, were—the application of the funds drawn from the land to purposes foreign to it,—the recruiting system,—and, above all, the total contempt of the privileges and rights of the Tyrol as a state. There, as in Sweden, the four orders met in general convocation, (for to the nobility, clergy, and burghers, is added a separate order for the peasants,) except in the Vorarlberg—where the two first mentioned classes do not exist;—these meetings took place at Innspruck, the president was selected

* Beaumanois, by an order dated Mosco, 24th September, 1812, only permitted to some of the southern districts the use of their mother tongue for six years longer.

by the collective body, and the bishops of Trent or Brixen were for the most part alternately chosen for that situation. In these assemblies all matters relative to taxation, as well as to the calling out of the militia, were settled; and in order to facilitate the arrangement of the latter, a sort of conscription was established, and a certain number of days (forty-two) in the course of the year fixed upon as the limit of military service.

In all this a degree of rational freedom is observable; and we cannot, therefore, wonder that a change of government, which completely annihilated it, should be received with aversion, or that every opening should be eagerly seized which encouraged a hope of returning to the former state of things.—A hope which, while we are writing, has been happily realized; the Emperor having, in person, restored to them that constitution which his predecessors had always respected.

The Tyrol is divided into ten districts, and its population in 1804, including the bishoprics of Trent and Brixen and the Vorarlberg, is stated at nearly 700,000 souls, inhabiting a space of 450 square German miles. The land is cut by three chains of mountains, which form several vallies of importance; the Brenner being, as it were, the centre from which they radiate, and from whose rugged sides flow some considerable rivers, both in a northerly and southerly direction. The height of this mountain is not much above 6000 feet; but the Glockner is upwards of twice that height, and the extreme point of the Ortel yields but little to Montblanc, being said to be 14,000 feet high; some doubt, however, may be entertained of the accuracy of the measurement, though it was taken by Pichler, in 1804.

Few countries can compare with the Tyrol in magnificence of scenery, or possess a greater variety of natural productions. In the more northern parts, where the vallies enjoy but little of the sun, from the height of the surrounding mountains, grain ripens with difficulty, and can at best afford but a precarious supply; hence the chief dependence of the peasant in these districts must be on his cattle and sheep; but in the narrow valley of the Adige the vine grows luxuriantly, and all the fruits of a warm climate flourish in abundance.

Dante's description of the scenery near Trent is well known; and spots of equal sublimity and grandeur are to be met with in every direction in this picturesque region. In speaking of the Alps it is as well to observe, that although the original signification of the word implied a mountain capped with snow, it is generally used by the natives to imply one upon which pasture for cattle can be found. The summits of that range which divides Carinthia from the Tyrol are called Tauern in the provincial dialect. The riches
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of the mineral kingdom have been scarcely explored in the Tyrol; there is no doubt, however, that they are considerable. In the adjoining districts of Salzburg, the salt mines at Hallein, like those near Innspruck, are abundantly productive; and the mines of gold in the Rathhausberg, though they at present scarcely defray the expense of working, formerly brought in a large revenue to the archbishops of Salzburg. But in her population this country possesses riches greater than any which her mountains may conceal—a brave, honest, and attached people—a race on whose loyalty and steadiness the mind can dwell with satisfaction when fatigued and disgusted with the contemplation of profligacy, or of a culpable want of energy and attachment in the subjects and dependents of other powers.

Montesquieu, from a love of system, has been led too far in his observation on the effect produced by climate upon the human race: we should say, that the influence of local situation is by far more uniformly powerful; that, for instance, those who dwell in a mountainous country will generally, from the activity and security of their life, exhibit more independence of character, and energy of mind than the inhabitants of the plain, because the latter are more exposed to hostile attack, and are not compelled, from the ruggedness of the soil, to earn their subsistence by laborious exertion. The mountaineer lives upon the game which he pursues, or the scanty harvest which ripens amongst his hills: from his daily intercourse with nature in all her wildest moods and most magnificent forms, he acquires a lofty and energetic tone of thinking; his imagination becomes more alive to external impression, and a feeling of peculiar awe and reverence pervades his religion: he

‘ Sees God in clouds and hears him in the wind,’

and hence the popular superstitions which prevail in all mountainous countries, in the Alps as well as in the Highlands of Scotland. Of this there are various instances related in the works before us; and one writer on the Tyrol has remarked, that if it were possible for all ideas of a Deity to be obliterated from the human breast, these sentiments would first shew themselves again amongst the dwellers in a mountainous region.

Of the virtues of the savage state we have never entertained any very exalted notion, nor will any reasonable man, we apprehend, at this time of day, look in real life for that pastoral innocence which is only to be found in the fictions of poetry or romance; we are disposed, however, to believe that more originality and simplicity of character is to be met with in the Tyrol than in most other parts of Europe, and we think that in this respect a marked difference is to be observed between this country and Switzerland. The Tyrol, in the first place, has been much less visited than the Swiss can-

tons; its inhabitants have not as yet learned to make their simplicity itself an object of interest, and are therefore more disinterested in their attentions to strangers, and less liable to the charge of venality which has so often been brought against the Swiss. There cannot be a stronger proof of the different feeling which belongs to the two people than the fact that, however fond they may be of military reputation, and the exercises of the field, the Tyrolese were never known to enlist in a foreign service, which has been the constant practice of the Swiss. In the Tyrol there are few towns of any magnitude; there is less chance, therefore, of contamination from the example of others; each man is sufficiently occupied with the management of his own little property, and, excepting on some particular occasions, when business or amusement brings him to the village which is nearest to his farm, he leads a life of retirement with the few members of his family. A marked distinction is observable between the inhabitants of the northern and southern parts of this country. The former are Germans, the latter Italians. Between the two no cordiality subsists, from the remembrance of old feuds and dissensions; and in the South, where the people are tenants not, as in the north, proprietors of the land, there is so much less independence of spirit, that their exertions in the cause were feeble, and would have been productive of little advantage had they not been assisted by their northern neighbours. In their appearance, too, the difference of the races is clearly perceptible; for the natives of the districts which border upon Italy cannot boast that superiority of form and stature for which the men of Innspruck and its environs are so peculiarly distinguished. There is an openness of heart and lightness of spirit about this people, accompanied with a sincerity and even bluntness of manner, which does not belong to those who have much intercourse with the world; or who are interested, from their trade or occupation in life, in conciliating the good will and favourable notice of others. The Tyrolese seem to be quite satisfied with their own pursuits and amusements, and to pass their time in a very primitive sort of way. The exercise of the rifle forms their chief delight, and their skill in the management of that weapon is such as might be expected from the frequency of their practice; and of this the targets displayed against the walls of every house bear sufficient testimony. As hunters they are even superior to the Swiss in activity and enterprize; nothing can deter them from the pursuit of the chamois, which forms their chief amusement, neither the laws, which are strict for the preservation of this animal on the crown domains, nor the perilous nature of the chase amongst precipices and eternal snow. Although ready, at the first summons, to arm, when occasion demands, they have a rooted dislike to regular military service. The duty of a scout is that to which they

they attach the chief importance, and they rather take pride in their ignorance of the established rules of military manœuvres. Their epigram on this subject is very expressive,

‘Ihr sagt es sey nichts als gluck
Zu siegen ohne die taktik;
Doch besser, ohne taktik siegen
Als mit derselben unterliegen.’

which may be thus verbally translated,

‘You say ’tis luck alone when those
Unskill’d in tactics beat their foes;
But better ’tis without to win
Than with these tactics to give in.’

With the use of the bayonet they are quite unacquainted. In the winter they amuse themselves with masques, which resemble the exhibitions of our mummers, and which were very injudiciously forbidden by the Bavarians; with the representation of plays on sacred subjects, very much in the style of our old Moralities, and in dancing and singing after the peculiar manner of the country. Some of their handicraft works in wood and straw display considerable ingenuity, and are manufactured by them at a price which appears but scantily to repay the labour which they cost. It is from this quarter that the greater part of the wooden toys come which are exposed here for sale; and a little figure in wood is to be purchased for threepence in London, which must have employed one of these poor people in its manufacture for a considerable portion of a winter’s evening. Like the lower order in Ireland, the Tyrolese are accustomed to seek employment in foreign countries for a limited time, at the expiration of which they never fail to return to their own. Many are in the practice of wandering about with Canary birds, of which they breed considerable numbers as an article of foreign trade; and from one of the most considerable villages of the Tyrol (that of Pieve in the Val Tesino) has sprung a race of print sellers, who have now establishments in all the great cities of Europe, but who originally were no more than itinerant pedlars, and fabricators of the most rude engravings on sacred subjects. In the circle of Roveredo the silk manufacture is carried on with some success; in the Puster valley that of carpets; and various other branches of trade thrive there in a limited degree. All this may serve to shew the industrious habits of the people: we must now proceed to the consideration of matters of a less peaceful description.

The immense power of popular feeling was never more fully exemplified than in the case of the Tyrol; and Spain has since furnished another glorious instance of the danger of attempting to subdue a whole people. For the most part great emergencies of
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this kind have been observed to call forth energies which would otherwise have lain dormant; and talents have been displayed in turbulent times which would have found no field for exercise in a quieter season. In the instance before us, however, it was rather the unconquerable spirit of the many which stirred up, and kept alive the flame of resistance, than any powerful or commanding talents in the leaders: for Hofer, to whom these preliminary remarks have brought us, was not a man of extraordinary acquirements, or particularly well qualified for the task which he undertook; peculiar circumstances, however, gave him a degree of weight with his countrymen which no other person possessed; and he answered the purpose of an abler man in keeping together those who had embarked in the same holy cause.

He was born on the 22d November, 1767, at the village of St. Leonhard, in the valley of Passeyr, where his father kept an inn, as all his ancestors had done from time out of mind—an occupation in this country of peculiar importance:—for the inn-keepers, being all small proprietors, are employed as agents in all those transactions which elsewhere are carried on by the bankers and shopkeepers in a country town. They negotiate the sale of cattle, wine, and other commodities, and facilitate the intercourse between the different parts of the country: they are moreover the leading people in all the provincial assemblies, and their houses are generally selected as places of rendezvous.

Hofer was in his forty-first year when the insurrection first broke out in the Tyrol,—though his make was Herculean, in his manner of holding himself he stooped considerably; and as is usual with those who are in the habit of ascending mountains with heavy burthens, his ordinary walk was slow, and with his knees bent. His voice was soft and agreeable, his countenance not expressive, except of great good humour when he smiled,—it was not, however, deficient in animation; and when at his prayers there was a look of humility about him which was said to be more indicative of Christian resignation than of the courageous firmness of an ancient hero. His education was somewhat superior to the generality of country folk, and from his duties as the master of a public house, and the traffic he carried on, he had acquired some knowledge of the Italian language, which he spoke with tolerable fluency, though in the worst Venetian dialect. His dress was the common habit of the country with some variation, a large black hat with a broad brim, adorned with black ribbons, and a black feather; a green jacket, red waistcoat, green braces, black leather girdle, and short black breeches, with red or black stockings. About his neck was a crucifix, with a large silver medal of St. George, to which was afterwards added a gold medal and chain sent to him by the emperor. He never, however, received the cross of Maria Theresa, nor obtained any rank in the Austrian army, as has been falsely reported.

But that for which Hofer was chiefly distinguished in his outward appearance,

appearance, and more especially when he rode on horseback, was his long black beard which reached to his middle. The innkeepers in these vallies were accustomed of old to allow their beards to grow, but it was in consequence of a wager that Hofer was induced to cherish this inconvenient appendage, one of his friends having disputed his power of doing what his wife would doubtless so very strongly object to. In his disposition, he was phlegmatic, fond of his ease and comfort, an enemy to everything new and precipitate, and only to be roused, when his respect for old established privileges and customs, for the religion which he professed, or the country which he belonged to, excited him to action. He was slow in decision, and, in transacting business, confined in his information, and rather confused in his projects, credulous as most of his countrymen are, and accessible to flattery however gross; his head, indeed, was not strong enough to bear his unexpected elevation to a degree of reputation to which his personal qualities gave him no pretensions. It was easy to urge him to severe measures, but the natural mildness and pliancy of his disposition hindered their completion, and it was impossible to hear unmoved the natural and unaffected tone in which he expressed himself, when his feelings of national pride or patriotism were excited. He was quite free from dissimulation of every kind. The last speaker generally succeeded in convincing him, especially if aware (and it was not difficult to find it out) of the way which led to the heart of the person he addressed. The bare mention of a victory gained by Austria, or in the cause of his native country—a classical allusion to the old times of the Tyrol, an enthusiastic word in favour of the sacred person of the emperor, or of the Archduke John, so dear to every Tyrolian,—any one of these proved an appeal too powerful to be withstood, and Hofer, who, according to the undisputed testimony of those who attended him, conducted himself in his last moments like “a Christian hero and intrepid martyr,” was in tears, and for some time unable to utter a word.—*Geschichte A. Hofer.*

In personal courage Hofer was certainly not deficient, it was manifested on many occasions, and more especially in the last act of his life; but however strange it may appear, it is a well-known fact that in 1809, he never was in fire excepting on one occasion, when he was observed, for a short time, in the thickest of the fight: and it has even been said that in more than one engagement his convivial habits kept him employed at the top of his table, when he ought to have been at the head of his men:—it was in allusion to his failings in this respect, and to the superstitious weakness which ran through his whole character,* that he has been represented as conducting his marches with the bottle in one hand, and the rosary in the other. As a general, indeed, he appears to have been by no means equal to some of his co-adjutors; to Speck-

* By a letter which is published in his Life, it is clear that Hofer latterly felt a conviction that it was the will of Heaven that all opposition to Buonaparte should prove fruitless.

bacher and the Capuchin he was decidedly inferior; and we do not find that he possessed that accuracy of eye, and that knowledge of the defences and positions of his own country, for which mountaineers are generally distinguished.

It will probably be asked how, with these defects, Hofer was enabled to act the conspicuous part which he confessedly did, and to obtain so completely the confidence of his countrymen? There was, in the first place, a degree of honesty in his character, a total absence of all considerations of personal interest, which could not fail of attaching to him the affections of his followers; to which must be added a certain reliance on his military skill produced by his early success against the Bavarians, and by the oracular tone and manner in which he is said to have delivered his orders and opinions. All this, however, will not be sufficient to account for the popularity which his name acquired; and we must look for it in the circumstance of his being one of the chief channels of communication between the Tyrolese and the court of Vienna, through the medium of the Archduke John: a part of the history of this enterprising and enlightened prince, quite new, we believe, to the majority of our readers, and which we shall endeavour to lay before them with all possible brevity.

For some years previous to that to which our observations now refer, the archduke had passed much of his time in wandering over the Rhetian Alps. Whilst employed there in botanical and mineralogical researches, and in obtaining a geographical knowledge of the country, he insensibly gained the hearts of the people, from the readiness with which he adopted their habits, and the attention which he gave to all their interests and concerns; and above all, perhaps, by his sharing with them in the perils of their adventurous chase of the chamois; to which, as we have observed, they are all extremely addicted. The more he explored the recesses and passes of the Tyrol, the more he felt satisfied that it might be defended as an impregnable fortress, that it ought to be so considered in a military point of view, and that the people might be converted into most invaluable troops by proper discipline and care. His suggestions, however, on this subject do not appear to have met with the attention they merited; the organization of the militia was miserably neglected, and a few inefficient officers and ill armed peasants were all that it produced. It was not until September, 1805, when Buonaparte was rapidly advancing from Boulogne to the Rhine, that all the evils of this neglect became fully apparent; and the archduke (whose influence among the Tyrolese was well known at Vienna) was sent to repair in a few days the effects of a system of mismanagement which had existed so long. This was no easy task; time is absolutely necessary

nary for bringing into discipline any body of men, and none require it so much as the Tyrolese, from their great dislike to regular service.

Innsbruck was at this time almost destitute of troops, the archduke being left there with only a few soldiers belonging to the customs. Whilst in this situation, intelligence was brought that a French corps had shewn itself, and was attempting to penetrate by the way of Scharnitz. The tocsin was immediately sounded throughout the valley, and the following day 12,000 peasants were assembled on the heights of Scefeld. These, however, were soon dismissed, as the apprehensions of immediate attack subsided; and in a few days the archduke set off for Italy to take a command in the army then under his brother Charles on the Adige. He had hardly time, however, to establish himself at head-quarters, before a deputation from the Tyrol arrived to request his return, and two days after he had joined the army he was again in motion on his return to Innsbruck to take the command of the country which he had so lately quitted. Nothing could be more discouraging than the aspect of affairs there. He found the troops loosely scattered on the borders, the generals at variance, and the people full of distrust. To concentrate the forces, and to form some systematic plan of defence was the first object; but whilst employed in these salutary and necessary arrangements, he was surprized by the appearance of a large body of Austrian officers, who announced their having been made prisoners at Ulm, the extent of the disaster which had befallen their army in that quarter, and the danger to be apprehended from the approach of the enemy. It was at this critical moment, as we have reason to believe, that the archduke proposed his long digested plan for the defence of the Tyrol, and which, if carried into effect at this period, as it was in 1809, might, as is conceived by the historian of Hofer's life, have rendered the consequences of the battle of Austerlitz less fatal than they afterwards proved, by cutting off the communications of the French army, and keeping up the spirits of the people of Germany. But the proposals on this subject were not accepted at Vienna. The army of Italy retired, and prince John received orders to quit that country which he felt that he had ability as well as means to defend. A more embarrassing situation than that of the archduke at this juncture cannot well be conceived; or one more distressing to the people whom he was thus compelled to abandon. He had, however, completely gained their confidence, they obeyed the order given, and returned to their homes. But what tended more than all to tranquillize the minds of the Tyrolese at this moment, and was, in fact, the real cause of the cessation of all further attempts on their part in 1805, was a circumstance which

which took place before the archduke quitted the country. At Brunecken he was overtaken by the deputation selected to wait upon him, amongst whom was Hofer; the prince here gave his hand to those appointed to take leave of him, and accompanied this with a solemn promise that whenever the moment for action arrived, (and arrive it must,) they should be apprized of it, and allowed to arm for the purpose of carrying into effect the plan secretly agreed upon. He then exhorted them to remain quiet for the present, to conceal their arms, to make such preparations as might be in their power, and to keep up a regular correspondence between the districts.

Thus driven from his favourite abode, the archduke, in 1807, turned his steps towards Stiria and Carinthia: he was often on the confines of his old territory, but the prudence of his ancient adherents was carried so far, that not a single person from that quarter ever ventured to come near him. In the year 1808, the prince was employed in organizing the militia of the countries above mentioned, and it was only in the district of Salzburg, that he had any communication with his old followers from the Tyrol. A regular correspondence had, however, been carried on all this time, in which political events were clothed in the language of courtship. The bride, it was stated, was ready, and the nuptial feast prepared, the bridegroom alone was wanted, and inquiry was made for him; to which the general answer given was, that the marriage could not take place immediately, as the bridegroom had not as yet made the necessary preparations.

Besides this mode of intercourse, a variety of contrivances were adopted for bringing together those who were labouring in the same cause: on Sundays and holidays they met in the church-yards; or at the little inns and houses of entertainment, where these transactions could be carried on with the greatest security, as the inn-keepers were universally staunch and zealous in the cause, and formed the chain which kept all things together. At length,

‘Expectata dies aderat.’—

In January, 1809, the war being no longer doubtful, the archduke wrote to say that the bridegroom was ready, desiring at the same time that some trusty persons might be sent to confer with him, and particularly naming Hofer amongst them. Hofer came accordingly, accompanied by some of his most faithful associates, who presented themselves in the unceremonious manner of their country to the Prince, who was then lodging in the imperial palace. The archduke was on the point of setting out for Gratz to make preparations for the approaching campaign. The deputies however had some private conferences with him of short duration, in which the state of affairs was explained to them. They were directed to hold themselves

themselves in readiness, and assurances were given that they should be duly informed when the day was fixed for a general rising. Hormayer was privy to all these proceedings, and, having the entire confidence of the archduke, was entrusted with the task of negotiating with the deputies, and making every arrangement connected with the Tyrol. His plan was to provide for a simultaneous movement on a given day, by establishing a certain number of fixed rallying points, so that the country should thus be in a state of complete insurrection from one end to the other, and that the suddenness of the movement should operate like a thunder-clap upon the enemy, and serve as a signal to the rest of Germany. Two months elapsed before this plan was carried into execution; and it speaks highly for the credit of the nation, that a scheme of so much importance, which must necessarily have been known to so many people, should have remained for so long a time secret. There is no instance upon record of any Tyroliian being induced to turn traitor for a bribe; and even the women, says Bartholdy, knew how to be silent:—‘*Auch weiber wussten zu schweigen.*’

It is also deserving of notice, as a proof of the skilfulness of Hormayer's arrangements, that at the first breaking out of hostilities, his plans were successful at all the leading points, excepting one, and that was the carrying Kufstein by a coup de main. His situation, however, was not free from difficulty;—among the Austrian generals there was considerable difference of opinion as to the policy to be pursued in regard to the Tyrol. Some were inclined to consider it as an insulated fortress which must be defended at all hazards; others were for withdrawing from it the force still remaining, small as it was, on the plea that Austria could ill afford to suffer any division of her troops; whilst not a few considered the insurrection as likely to be productive of habits of insubordination and disorder, and, though they approved of the end proposed, were inclined to be scrupulous as to the means employed.

At such a crisis it was very desirable that the popular feeling, in the state of exaltation and enthusiasm to which it was raised, should not be led astray by designing men; that chiefs should be chosen from amongst themselves, whose views and inclinations were free from all suspicion, to whom the people might look with confidence, and on whose integrity and disinterestedness the court of Vienna could implicitly rely. Of those selected by Hormayer with this view, Hofer was the chief, and a safer choice could not have been made. His mild and honest disposition rendered it impossible to apprehend any evil from his obtaining too much popularity amongst his countrymen—for though his head is said to have been turned from excess of good fortune, he does not appear to have been
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led into any abuse of power by the singular elevation to which he was raised.

We have not sufficient space to enter into a detail of the progress of the Tyrolese arms; a few observations on some of the most remarkable incidents which took place will be sufficient for our purpose—for although on no occasion were more energy and gallantry, or more self-devotion displayed than by the people of the Tyrol in 1809; yet the contest partook (as must be expected) of the nature of every popular insurrection, and the leading features are unavoidably such as occur in all struggles of a similar description.

The first breaking out of hostilities was attended with signal success, and a blow was struck which obliged the enemy for a time to abandon the country altogether. The French and Bavarian forces in Innsbruck were compelled to surrender themselves prisoners to the rude peasantry which they had so often affected to despise; and Buonaparte was doomed to see a second edition of the capitulation of Baylen in the opening of a war, where every check was of the utmost importance to him, and in a quarter where failure was least of all expected.

General Bisson, who commanded the French part of the force, aware of the usual fate of those who by similar disasters had brought down upon their heads the wrath of their inexorable master, was for some time unwilling to add his name to the articles of surrender;—but it was the interest of Napoleon not to draw the public attention to this unlucky incident, and Bisson therefore, instead of sharing the fate of Dupont, was afterwards appointed governor of Mantua. In the mean time the cry was general that the Tyrolese had murdered their prisoners in cold blood, at the instigation of the Marquis Chastellar, commander-in-chief of the Austrian armies in the Tyrol; and he who in his own case had not scrupled to adopt a similar measure, affected to weep iron tears over this inhuman proceeding. It is perhaps unnecessary to remark, that the whole story was a vile and infamous calumny. Chastellar, even if his soul had not revolted at the bare idea of such cruelty, was then at Brixen,—and the prisoners themselves were already far on their way towards Salzburg, under a female escort, as hands could not be spared to send with them a more efficient guard.

It is but justice to the Tyrolese character to observe, that we have seldom read of any event where the passions were so strongly excited, which was attended with so little bloodshed—whilst on the other side, the progress of the Bavarians was marked with every circumstance of cruelty and horror, and the towns which became the victims of their fury still exhibit most melancholy proofs of the ferocity with which their operations were conducted.—

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Against Chastellar, Buonaparte was peculiarly exasperated; and there is no stronger proof of this officer's integrity, as well as that of Hormayer, than the fact that they were both proscribed by him—a measure which he adopted in other cases of a similar description; with the hope probably of thus preventing a valuable servant from doing his duty to his sovereign, for fear of the consequences which might result to his personal safety.

The good fortune which marked the opening of affairs in the Tyrol was not of long duration. The French successes in other quarters soon opened the way to this devoted province, and General Wrede and the Duke of Dantzic regained possession of Innsbruck: the former has since distinguished himself in a more honourable cause, and we regret that his name should ever have been associated with that of Lefevre, who seems, like his master, to have had no weaknesses to correct in his manner of governing.

The battle of Berg-Isel fought on the 29th May by the Tyrolese, in a spot which tradition had told them would one day be favourable to their country, relieved Innsbruck a second time from the enemy. The success of this action was chiefly due to the courage and skill of Joseph Speckbacher, a worthy associate of Hofer, and his superior in military talent, though not equally high in public reputation. Here, too, the Capuchin Haspinger, a very conspicuous and interesting personage in the events of this time, is recorded to have fought nobly. A greater game was meanwhile playing in the very heart of the Austrian dominions; and the emperor was compelled, as one of the stipulations of the armistice which was agreed to after the battle of Wagram, to withdraw his troops from the Tyrol, and to publish a proclamation in which its inhabitants were exhorted to lay down their arms, and to trust to the clemency of the French.

Lefevre again entered Innsbruck, and attempted to advance into the Lower Tyrol; but this was a task beyond his powers;—and to this day his total failure, in consequence of the determined resistance and activity which was opposed to him, is a subject of glee and exultation in the Tyrol.

On the 12th August the enemy was again defeated in the auspicious neighbourhood of the Isel mountain; and on their retreat across the Inn, Hofer assumed the command at Innsbruck. His mode of exercising his functions exhibits, among much good sense, some amusing traits of character, which involuntarily remind us of Sancho's deportment when invested with the high authority of which he was so ambitious.

But this prosperous state of things was only the prelude to the tragical finale which very soon followed. Austria made peace with France, and was compelled, as one of the bitterest humiliations

tions which attended this treaty, to abandon the faithful Tyrolese to their fate;—who still, however, with a degree of energy and spirit to which there is no parallel, for some time maintained the unequal conflict.

We would willingly close here our remarks, for the sequel of this interesting episode in the history of the later times is deplorably melancholy; but there was nothing in Hofer's life that became him like the leaving it, and the detail must not be omitted. A want of decision and resolution (perhaps the greatest defect which can belong to a man in a public situation) appears to have been the bane of Hofer, and to have led to the fatal conclusion of his short though interesting career. The sport of the contending opinions which prevailed as to the proper policy for his countrymen to pursue, and deceived by false intelligence, he disdained to bend to the storm when further resistance was hopeless and only served to exasperate his enemies; and even when forced to fly for refuge to the mountains, he was obstinate in his determination to remain there, with the hope of better times and a renewal of hostilities. Every facility of escape from his hiding-place was offered by the viceroy Beauharnois, as well as the Austrian government, and both either directly or indirectly testified their desire to promote it. But no persuasion could induce him to separate himself from his family, or even to cut off the long beard which he wore, both of which precautions were absolutely necessary to prevent his being recognized. His place of concealment was a wretched Alpine hut about four long German miles from his own dwelling, and at times inaccessible from the snow which surrounded it. Hither some of his most trusty followers brought such provisions as were required for himself and his family; and in this situation he remained from the end of November to the conclusion of the month of January in perfect security, although a considerable reward was offered for his head. His retreat was at last revealed by a wretch to whom it was known, at the instance of Donay, a vile traitor to the cause; and a body of men, amounting to nearly 2000, (of such importance was his capture considered,) were sent to secure him. It was dark when they approached his miserable hut, but as soon as he was aware that his pursuers had discovered him, he came forth intrepidly and submitted quietly to be bound. Chains were then brought to secure him better, and he was marched with his wife, his daughter, and little son of twelve years old, to Botzen, amidst the taunts of the French soldiery and the tears of his countrymen. Here he appears, for the first time, to have met with that sympathy which his character and misfortunes deserved. Baraguay d'Hilliers, the general in command, gave orders that less rigorous measures should be adopted for his confinement, and put a stop to the excesses which

which had been committed by the soldiers in plundering his little property in the Passeyr valley. The French officers too manifested their commiseration for his fate by such attentions as it was in their power to bestow, in return for the invariable kindness which he had shewn to his prisoners. Although from his long confinement in cold quarters, and coarse food, his looks were much altered, and his eye fallen, his spirit was as buoyant and as untamed as ever; and amidst the mournful faces which surrounded him, his alone retained its cheerfulness and serenity. He took occasion during his short stay at Botzen to request forgiveness of some persons there whom he feared he had offended, and he was then hurried off with a strong escort to Mantua. His family were set at liberty by an order to that effect, and he parted with them for ever. On his arrival at Mantua a court-martial was immediately assembled for his trial, of which General Bisson was chosen president; on collecting the voices great difference of opinion was found to prevail in regard to the sentence to be given, the majority were for confinement, and two even had the courage to vote for his entire liberation; but a telegraph from Milan decided the question by decreeing death within twenty-four hours, thus rendering it impossible for the intercession of Austria to be of any avail in his behalf. Berthier, who was then at Vienna as a suitor by proxy for Buonaparte, brought upon himself universal indignation by the hypocritical manner in which he affected to lament this 'unlucky accident.' 'Such a transaction,' he said, 'would be a matter of serious concern to his master the emperor, and never would have been permitted had his majesty been aware of it.' There have been various attempts to relieve Buonaparte from the odium of consenting to other deeds of this dark description, and it has been repeated in his favour, that—

'It is the curse of kings to be attended

By slaves that take their humours for a warrant

To break within the bloody house of life;

but the deity to whom his worshippers so frequently offer up human sacrifices, cannot at least be supposed to revolt at bloodshed; and in the long list of those who have suffered for their contumacy in opposing Buonaparte's schemes of universal empire, no one was more foully murdered than Hofer, or will sit more heavily on the soul of the culprit, whenever he may venture to dwell on the past. Hofer was far from expecting the sentence which was past upon him. He had felt secure in the justice of his cause, and in the conviction that he was not amenable to those edicts by which he had already been proclaimed worthy of death. When his doom was communicated to him he received the intelligence with the most unshaken firmness, and requested that a priest might be allowed to attend him, which was granted without hesitation.

The details of his last moments are given in the following simple and affecting narrative.

‘As eleven o’clock struck, the generale sounded,—a company of grenadiers were drawn out, and the officers appointed to attend his execution entered the prison. In going out from thence, he passed by the barracks on the Porta Molina, where the Tyrolese were confined:—all there fell on their faces, put up their prayers, and wept aloud. Those who were at large in the fortress assembled on the road by which he was conducted, and even after the escort had left it, threw themselves on the ground, and implored his blessing. This Hofer gave them, and then requested their forgiveness for the share which he might have had in producing their present misfortunes, expressing at the same time his assurance that they would once again return under the dominion of the emperor, to whom he cried out the last “vivat” with a clear and steady voice. He delivered to Manifesti, the Priest, who remained with him to the last, every thing he had, to be distributed to his countrymen: this consisted in 500 florins in Austrian notes, his silver snuff-box, and his beautiful rosary;—to this faithful attendant himself he gave his crucifix, which was small, and of silver. On the broad bastion, at a little distance from the Porta Ceresa, the commanding officer halted his men. The grenadiers formed a square open to the rear, and twelve of the privates and a corporal stepped forward,—Hofer remained standing in the middle. The drummer then handed to him a white handkerchief to bind his eyes, and reminded him that it was necessary to bend on one knee; but he directly threw away the handkerchief, and peremptorily refused to kneel, observing that “he was used to stand upright before his Creator, and in that posture would he deliver up his spirit to him.” He then cautioned the corporal to take good aim, at the same time giving him a small piece of Tyrolese money; and having thus done, he gave the word “fire” in a loud and articulate tone.—His death, like that of Palm, was not instantaneous, for the executioners performed their office at first imperfectly—a merciful shot, however, at last dispatched him—he fell, and the spot on which he suffered is still considered sacred by his countrymen and former companions. The French, as if to compensate by honors to the dead, for the injury done to the living, now testified their respect for his remains by going through all the ceremonies of a public funeral. His body, instead of being allowed to remain for some time on the place of execution, as is usual in the case of those condemned to die, was borne by the grenadiers on a sable bier to the church of St. Michael. There his corpse was laid out in state, a guard of honour was appointed to watch over it, and all the populace were admitted to see that the much dreaded Barbone (or General Sanvird, as the French were accustomed to call him) was really no more. The interment then took place.’

Thus perished Hofer, in his forty-third year,—the calmness and resignation displayed by him in his last moments will bear a comparison with the deportment of any of the heroes of ancient or modern

derm times, under circumstances equally trying; and a degree of intrepidity in no degree more striking has served to throw a lustre over the deaths of many characters whose lives were of a very different complexion from that of this simple countryman.—But,

Whatever force the boastful hero plays,
Virtue alone has majesty in death,
And greater still, the more the tyrant frowns.

A pension was settled by the Emperor Francis upon Hofer's family, and a sum of money given to enable them to settle in Austria, which they were invited to do; but his widow preferred returning to her old habitation in the valley of Passeyr, where, we have heard, she was visited by the emperor in his last return from Paris. The son is said to be very unequal in talent to his father; but his education and maintenance have also been provided for. A plain and substantial monument has been lately erected in honour of Hofer's memory, by command of the emperor, on an elevated part of the Brenner, and not far from his own habitation.

We cannot close this article without some further mention of Joseph Speckbacher, one of Hofer's most efficient and faithful coadjutors. In reading the account of his exploits we feel ourselves once more transported into the times of Amadis and the old romances, when men were ten times taller, stouter, and properer than in these degenerate days; his hair-breadth scapes when beset by his enemies, though they savour rather of the marvellous, we see no reason to disbelieve. He was born at the little village of Gnadenwald, not far from Hall, in 1768. His father was one of the superintendants of the salt works at the latter place, and his grandfather had distinguished himself against the Bavarians in the early part of the century. This example seems at a very early age to have fired the imagination of the youthful Speckbacher, and to have led to the neglect of more peaceful pursuits. When seven years old he lost his father, and was sent to school, where he remained for a considerable time, but to very little purpose, as it would appear; for though there was no sort of roguery or mischief of which he was not capable, he could neither read nor write, in spite of all the instruction bestowed upon him. At the age of twelve he began to lead a Robin Hood kind of life in the forests of Bavaria, with five or six lawless companions, who were continually fighting with the officers; but his chief associate being killed in one of these wild excursions, Speckbacher took to more regular courses, and became an overseer at the salt mines at Hall, as his father had been before him. He there married a woman of some little property, to the management of which he dedicated a good deal of his time. Mrs. Speckbacher's first exploit was to compel her husband to make up for lost time, by learning to read and write; and it was well that

she did so, for in the following year honours came thick upon him, and he was chosen one of the committee of judgment in his district, an office much resembling that of our justice of the peace. All these quiet occupations, however, were instantly abandoned by Speckbacher when more turbulent times came on. He possessed in a great degree many of the qualities which fit a man for military command, and, amongst those of a minor description, a quickness of eye which enabled him to discern objects at a considerable distance with astonishing accuracy. His power over his followers, too, was great, and sufficient to repress their excesses, and to put a stop to all plundering, which he punished with severity. The enemy knew his value, and many efforts were made, but in vain, to bring him over to their side; a 1000 ducats too were offered for his head; but although it was known to upwards of thirty peasants that he was for eight days working with them, disguised as a labourer, in Rattenberg, (an expedient adopted by him in order to acquire a knowledge of the defences of the town,) no one seemed to notice him until his departure, and they then only spoke of his appearance with the finger on the lip. After his wonderful escape, the emperor offered him lands in Hungary, where he was disposed to settle; but his wife, whom he had left in the Tyrol, was first to be consulted, and we shall conclude our remarks with her answer, which for simplicity and tenderness we have seldom seen equalled.

‘My beloved Husband!

‘Dearest Joseph,—

‘Painful as it may be to you to be separated from me, and heavily as our domestic grievances may weigh upon your mind, yet your wife suffers no less severely in being compelled to live without you; in truth, whenever I look at any of my children, my heart is like to break, for my first reflection is, Ah! children, you are now little better than orphans without a father, and I a wretched widow without reputation or name!—But may God in heaven so dispose events, that pity may be shewn to me and my children, and their inheritance provided for. Oh, my dear Joseph, you know how your poor wife loves you, and by this love I implore you, for God’s sake, not to take it amiss, if I repeat what I have already said, and even more strongly than before; that rather than go to Hungary, or any where else so distant, rather will I (alas! that I should be obliged to say so!) go begging with my children. Things are not quite gone that length as yet, (though not far from it,) but they cannot long remain as they are; so have you, my beloved husband, a beggar for your wife.—I must stop, or my paper will be wet with my tears. This one consideration alone, dearest Joseph, must be a comfort to you in this distress, as it is to me your wife, that we have not drawn upon ourselves this misery, or the beggary which is now hanging over us, by any extravagance on our parts, or any other cause in which we are to blame; but it is your attachment alone to our good Emperor Francis, and the heartfelt longing again to be Austrians, which

has

has led you so far,—has placed you in the most imminent danger of your life, and your wife and little ones in the extremity of poverty and distress. Oh! my dear man, take courage, and throw yourself at the feet of our gracious emperor, who is yet so good to you, and tell him how it fares with your wife in the Tyrol. Let me implore your forgiveness, if I do not come after you, you know yourself that I am sickly and perhaps could not go through so long a journey, it is not only from old women that I have heard it, for sensible men have told me, that for those who are not of a strong constitution, and habit of body, Hungary is a bad place to live in, and you love your wife, I am sure, too tenderly to wish to contribute to her death. Do but you ask this in the way you ought to do, and I will pray to the saints in Heaven that our gracious sovereign the emperor may yet relieve us, and then God will set all matters to rights. But if his corrections must be inflicted upon us for a longer time, do you then implore for that which you may be able to obtain; that you may have something allotted to you in Stiria, or in that neighbourhood; and then, if all hope is at an end of our dear country again becoming Austrian, and of thy return to the Tyrol, then will I come to thee, beloved of my heart. I thank you, dearest Joseph, for your new year's wish. God grant that we may again meet under Austria's government in our own dear Tyrol. In order that you, my dearest, may be able to explain correctly to those who may be of use to us our calamitous situation, I must tell you, to my sorrow, as it will be to yours, that all our cattle are sick; one third we have already lost, and we cannot feel sure for a day, that the other two will not go also. Fifty florins are already expended in doctors and apothecary's stuff; think, too, in addition, of the heavy taxes we have to pay. Yet once more, dearest husband, I repeat to you, implore relief for your poor forlorn wife and children. I send you a thousand kind greetings, and commend you to the protection of God, and to the favour of our benevolent emperor. Write to me soon, and cease not to love

Your faithful wife,

'Jan. 15, 1811.'

'MARIA SPECKBACHERIN.'

'P. S. Your children salute you tenderly; they anxiously pray for you, and often ask, "Will not our father come again to us?"'

ART. IV.—*An Essay on the Principle of Population; or, a View of its past and present Effects on Human Happiness; with an Inquiry into our prospects respecting the future Removal or Mitigation of the Evils which it occasions.* By R. T. Malthus, A. M. late Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, and Professor of History and Political Economy in the East India College, Hertfordshire. The Fifth Edition, with important Additions. Three Vols. 8vo. London. 1817.

THAT preposterous course which is a fatal error in morals, is indispensable in political science; mankind must act first, and reason afterwards. The axioms of political economy, like those of natural

natural philosophy, can only result from experience and repeated observation: thus it happens that the progress of civilization, as it increases the variety of relations and combinations in which men are placed with respect to each other, and multiplies the transactions in which they are involved, has the collateral effect of introducing a new set of intellectual pursuits, and engaging mankind in the study of fresh sciences as it gradually advances. There is not a wider difference between the simple barter of wine or oxen for arms or slaves, and the bills of exchange which form the medium of modern commerce, than between the comparative knowledge of the principles by which national and individual transfers of property are regulated, as exhibited in the crude and contradictory 'Politics' of Aristotle, and in the scientific conclusions of the 'Wealth of Nations.' Aristotle was as well calculated as any man to build up a scientific system: but a sufficient series of experiments to found it upon, was wanting. Hence it was naturally to be expected that in the progress of civilization and political economy, the last subject studied and explained should be the facts relating to POPULATION, because this branch of political science requires a collection of statistic details which can only be furnished by an advanced state of society: and because it is little likely to attract attention till men are generally placed in circumstances like those in which we find them in modern Europe. In ancient times, the density of population was limited by the facility, and still more by the habit of emigration, which, after all, while the distance is short, and climate similar, and artificial wants comparatively few, is a much milder process than expatriation from Europe to America, or from England to the shores of the Euxine. The universal habits of slavery, moreover, among the Greeks and Romans, and such a systematic demoralization as is betrayed by the enactment of a *lex Julia*, to say nothing of perpetual and murderous wars, would naturally tend to keep the subject out of view. During the middle ages, population had a regular preventive check in feudal habits, and a regular positive check in civil wars: and though famines were no less frequent than severe, it was quite evident that they did not originate in the redundancy of people, but in the want of channels for distributing produce, and in the total ignorance and neglect of agriculture. It was not, therefore, till the security of property and the tranquil state of things which followed the establishment of a settled government, made it the first desire of every man to sit down, if not under his own vine, at least by his own fire-side and in the circle of a family; it was not till avenues were gradually opened to industry and enterprise, and allowed that desire to be generally gratified; it was not till these prosperous circumstances gave an impulse to the power of population, that the inhabitants

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of the various countries of Europe encroached rapidly upon the productive soil, and have made it at last a matter of speculation how far the territory itself may be able to support the numbers existing in it; and what proportion there is between the natural powers of the earth, and those of unrestrained population.

Unquestionably the details which we now possess from registers and statistical tables and other authentic sources, are of a nature to invite the curiosity and ensure the attention of all those who have a taste for researches into the history of their fellow creatures, even apart from all practical consequences. The first survey of the subject affords a striking problem. It presents us with a view of men essentially the same in their passions, constitutions, and physical powers, yet, in different countries, or in the same country at different times, varying in the rate in which they increase their numbers through every degree of a very extensive scale: in some cases requiring no more than twenty-five years, and in others perhaps no less than a thousand, to double them. There is no occasion to travel far in search of instances. Our own dominions exhibit the following variations.

In Canada, the population doubles in 28 years.

In Ireland in 34

In England and Wales (calculating the whole of the last century) in 100

In Hindostan (perhaps) in 1000

Those who profess to see nothing remarkable in these variations, must have very different ideas from ours as to what is interesting in the history of the human race. Again, if we trace the subject back to the origin of the increase, we find in different countries a similar difference in the proportion which the number of annual marriages bears to the number of the existing population. Here, for the sake of wider illustration, we will extend our view beyond our own territories. In Russia, according to a table furnished by Mr. Tooke, it appears that among ninety-two persons one marriage is contracted, or of forty-six persons one marries annually: so that the proportion of marriages to the actual population is on the average as one to ninety-two. Whereas in most countries the proportion is considerably smaller: being

in Sweden	1	to	110*
in England	1	to	122†
in Norway	1	to	130*
in the Pays de Vaud	1	to	140*

* Malthus, vol. i. p. 410.

† Preliminary Observations on the Population Abstract, by Mr. Rickman, p. xxix.

It is further remarkable that the annual proportion of marriages is by no means uniform even in the different counties of our native land. According to the curious table, prefixed to the returns for 1811, it varies from one in a hundred and five, which is the highest, (with the exception of Middlesex,) to one in a hundred and fifty-three. For example,

in Yorkshire (East Riding) the marriages are as			
	1	to	105 persons
in Warwickshire	1	to	116
in Essex	1	to	128
in Shropshire	1	to	143
in Monmouthshire	1	to	153

How are we to account for these striking variations? Confessedly we have no ground to assume either any material difference in the prolific power, or in the instincts on which the increase of the species depends. The American race is but a branch of the European stock, and, had it remained on its parent soil, would have partaken of the same gradual increase, doubling itself in a century at the quickest; but the same branch, when rooted in Transatlantic ground, doubles in twenty-five years. Take any given number: say 10,000: these persons remaining in France or England, would in a hundred years have increased to 20,000: but transplanted to America, in a hundred years they become 160,000. Nay, even in the same country the rate of increase is very different in different periods, and periods too with only a trifling interval between them. England, during the first half of the last century, only gained a million of inhabitants; increasing from 5,475,000 to 6,467,000: but during the last half, increased nearly three times as fast, having reached 9,163,000 at the census of 1801. At that period the rate of doubling was about eighty-three years; but the increase from 1801 to 1811 was in still greater proportion, and should it continue, would double the whole population in fifty-five years.

At this point, then, Mr. Malthus takes up the question. Why is it, that in America the numbers increase so fast, in Hindostan so slow? Why faster in Ireland than in England? Why is it, that in England the population increases at different rates in different periods? or that in those counties which either extensive marshes or crowded manufacturing towns render comparatively unhealthy, marriages are earlier and more general than in the more salubrious and agricultural districts? Are the natural inclinations colder in Shropshire than in Warwickshire, or in Monmouthshire than in either? or is it more reasonable to suppose that the natural inclinations are generally uniform, but that they are necessarily repressed in some situations by the difficulty of providing for a family, more than in the mining and manufacturing districts, where the average duration

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of life is shorter, and the resources of labour more extensive? Is it not that the power of increase in the human race is much greater than the power of adding to the supply of food, by which last, however, their increase must inevitably be regulated? Is it any thing but the impossibility of procuring a proportionate augmentation of subsistence which prevents mankind, in all healthy countries, from making an annual addition to their numbers as great as that which takes place in America or in some parts of the Russian territory?

So at least argues Mr. Malthus; and the returns of the annual marriages, which were not in existence at the publication of his Essay, afford a clear illustration of his original remark.

‘It is evident that in every country where the resources are any way limited, the *preventive* and *positive* checks to population must vary inversely as each other; that is, in countries either naturally unhealthy or subject to a great mortality, from whatever cause it may arise, the preventive check will prevail very little. In those countries, on the contrary, which are naturally healthy, and where the preventive check is found to prevail with considerable force, the positive check will prevail very little, or the mortality be very small.’—p. 24.

Our readers will probably remember that we have not been hasty in adopting Mr. Malthus’s conclusions; and that we have condemned without hesitation the unqualified severity and harshness with which they were originally accompanied and introduced to public notice. Whoever casts his eyes around him, and surveys the labour, the distress, the penury, and the ignorance in which a great part of the human race, even in the most favoured countries, are more or less immersed, must want all the finer feelings and most amiable charities of our nature, if he does not spontaneously give way to the benevolent desire of correcting so much vice and relieving so much misery. Under the influence of these feelings, even the chimerical visions of Mr. Owen have attracted attention; and for some time his violation of practical experience and defiance of common sense, appeared to find excuse, in consideration of the amiable sentiments to which they were sacrificed. Even when the rugged lessons of experience or the incontrovertible testimonies of evidence assure us of the utter hopelessness of realizing this amelioration to its desirable extent; still the hardest lesson to forget is that which was first imbibed in other schools than those of philosophy; and the hope of some effectual improvement in the condition of our species remains ‘the last infirmity of noble minds.’ Mr. Malthus himself, in the preface to his original edition, ‘professes to have read some of the speculations on the future improvement of society in a temper very different from a wish to find them visionary; but he had not acquired that

that command over his understanding which would enable him to believe what he wishes, without evidence, or to refuse his assent to what might be displeasing when accompanied with evidence.'

Under circumstances thus confessedly disadvantageous, the author cannot have been surprized at the slow and reluctant assent which his principles have obtained. He has a prejudice to encounter at every step; and it must be owned that no pains were originally employed to win an easy way, and make the reader part readily with his prejudices. Every succeeding edition has improved in this respect; and in the present especially the author has equally gratified our self-complacency and displayed his own candour, by expunging those passages to which we had most pointedly objected, as liable to misrepresent the subject, and inflict an unnecessary violence on the feelings of the reader.* The existing state of our domestic economy certainly renders the inquiry peculiarly interesting at this moment; and we enter upon it with no slight advantage after the discussions which this branch of political science (which

* The following quotations contain an account of the alterations and additions which have been made since the last edition was published.

'On account of the nature of the subject, which it must be allowed is one of permanent interest, as well as of the attention likely to be directed to it in future, I am bound to correct those errors of my work, of which subsequent experience and information may have convinced me, and to make such additions and alterations as appear calculated to improve it, and promote its utility.

'It would have been easy to have added many further historical illustrations of the first part of the subject; but as I was unable to supply the want I once alluded to, of accounts of sufficient accuracy to ascertain what part of the natural power of increase each particular check destroys, it appears to me that the conclusion, which I had before drawn from very ample evidence of the only kind that could be obtained, would hardly receive much additional force by the accumulation of more, precisely of the same description.

'In the first two books, therefore, the only additions are a new chapter on France, and one on England, chiefly in reference to facts which have occurred since the publication of the last edition.

'In the third book, I have given an additional chapter on the Poor-Laws; and as it appeared to me that the chapters on the Agricultural and Commercial Systems, and the Effects of increasing Wealth on the Poor, were not either so well arranged, or so immediately applicable to the main subject, as they ought to be; and as I further wished to make some alterations in the chapter on Bounties upon Exportation, and add something on the subject of Restrictions upon Importation, I have recast and rewritten the chapters which stand the 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, in the present edition; and given a new title, and added two or three passages to the 14th, and last chapter of the same book.

'In the fourth book I have added a new chapter to the one entitled *Effects of the Knowledge of the principal Cause of Poverty on Civil Liberty*; and another to the chapter on the different *Plans of employing the Poor*; and I have made a considerable addition to the Appendix, in reply to some writers on the Principles of Population, whose works have appeared since the last edition.

'These are the principal additions and alterations made in the present edition. They consist in a considerable degree of the application of the general principles of the Essay to the present state of things.

'For the accommodation of the purchasers of the former editions, these additions and alterations will be published in a separate volume.'—Preface, pp. 12—14.

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when Mr. Malthus first published his essay was almost an untried field of speculation) has recently undergone. At all events, respecting a book which has taken such firm hold of the public attention, and which, in the judgment of its partisans, is likely to effect a greater change in the current of public opinion than any which has appeared since the '*Wealth of Nations*,' we owe a duty to the author and to our readers, which we shall endeavour impartially to perform.

The essay opens with an inquiry into the natural rate of the increase of mankind, compared with that of the subsistence necessary for their support. It appears from some well known examples, that population, where there is no difficulty in procuring a proportionate addition to the supply of food, doubles itself every twenty-five years, or proceeds in a geometrical ratio. Subsistence however, in countries once settled and limited, cannot possibly be accumulated at the same rate. If we can suppose that the produce of England in 1817 should by great exertions be doubled by the year 1842, that is, should be so far and so long able to support the probable increase of an unrestrained population; yet we cannot possibly imagine that it could be again doubled in twenty-five years more, and enabled to meet the demand of forty-four millions in 1867. The most sanguine speculator could only expect the produce to be increased in the same proportion as during the preceding period, or to proceed in the arithmetical ratio of 1, 2, 3; while population, as appears in America, has a natural tendency to increase in the geometrical ratio of 1, 2, 4, &c.

'Taking the whole earth, instead of this island, emigration would of course be excluded; and, supposing the present population equal to a thousand millions, the human species would increase as the numbers 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64, 128, 256, and subsistence as 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. In two centuries the population would be to the means of subsistence as 256 to 9; in three centuries as 4096 to 13, and in two thousand years the difference would be almost incalculable.'—vol. i. p. 15.

After reading this prefatory statement, we naturally expect to learn, in the subsequent chapters, that a part, at least, of mankind are placed in some of these different relations as to their food and numbers; or at any rate, that these two opposite forces can only be brought to a tolerable equality by some process totally inconsistent with virtue or happiness. We forget that this is only an abstract view of the subject; that these different relations never can really exist, being uniformly checked at the first step of their hostile progress: and that we are in much more actual danger from every comet that traverses our system, than from the risk that population should ever be to the means of subsistence even as 4 to 3. For this reason we have always regretted the place which
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these calculations hold in the head and front of the essay. Not because we demur to their justice as abstract truths; but because they seem to perplex the reasoning, by keeping out of sight the facts which it is the real object of the book to prove. The increase of population, no doubt, in favourable situations, is matter of historical notoriety, and may be ascertained on visible and undeniable evidence. But the degree of increase of which human subsistence is capable is necessarily in a great measure hypothetical. Here, therefore, is scope for argument and discussion; and it is for this purpose that the details which follow the author's leading statement are so practically valuable. But it must be observed, that according to the mode in which these details are introduced, they do not bear upon the original propositions, that subsistence increases according to one ratio, and population in another; but on a different set of propositions, which are enunciated in the second chapter, and which the various checks to population in different climates and stages of civilization are subsequently brought in to prove. The opening statements, therefore, are only made to be abandoned; and, if they were to be abandoned, had better not have been made, or at least not placed in so conspicuous a position.

It may be necessary, perhaps, to explain our objection more fully. The author's principle is this: that population has a natural tendency to increase much faster than food can be provided for it; and that the difference between these two ratios in the relative increase of subsistence and population has always occasioned a great deal of poverty and misery in the world. In order to establish his point, two separate courses of argument lay ready for his choice. First, to begin, as he has begun, with a statement of the geometrical and arithmetical ratio, taken as a probable assumption; and then to bring forward his statistical and historical details, in order to show the justice of that original proposition. For if there is this difference, or any such difference between the ratios in which population and subsistence naturally proceed, it follows that there must be in almost all countries a pressure of mankind against the existing supply of food. It must be obtained and increased with so much difficulty, that except in very particular situations, there must always remain some part of the people to whom the necessities of life will be barely and scantily awarded. This would have given him occasion to appeal to the various records which we possess of the human race: and to prove, from history and experience, that notwithstanding the various drains on population occasioned in some countries by wars and outrages, in others by vicious customs, in others by epidemic disorders, and in others by unhealthy occupations, still there is a constant pressure against the available supply of subsistence; a pressure uniform in

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its operation though variable in its degree. Other accounts satisfactorily show, that wherever the means of subsistence have been suddenly increased, either by emigration, or by the addition of some new territory, or by the effects of war and pestilence sweeping off a portion of the original inhabitants, this facility of supply has immediately occasioned a start in the progress of population, which has quickly either filled up the chasm or covered the vacant surface. We possess, therefore, this further proof that the same power of natural increase which keeps population fully up to the level of subsistence, is constantly seeking opportunity to exert itself still more; and, like a stream forcibly dammed up, will rush onward as soon as the sluices are opened; or, like a tree whose roots are confined, is always pushing its fibres in every direction, and searching for room to spread and expand them.

Such is, in fact, the general outline of the course of evidence by which the leading principle of the book may be supported, and the superiority of the power of population to the power of producing subsistence maintained. But those who are familiar with the essay itself will be immediately aware that this is not the process of reasoning which the author has actually pursued. Leaving altogether, as we observed, his original statement, he undertakes to prove the following propositions:

‘ 1. Population is necessarily limited by the means of subsistence. 2. Population invariably increases where the means of subsistence increase. 3. The checks which repress the superior power of population, and keep its effects on a level with the means of subsistence, are all resolvable into moral restraint, vice, and misery.’—p. 34.

Here we must remark, that these three propositions, considered as a chain of argument, are thus far defective, that the *superior power of population* is affirmed, not proved; which amounts to an assumption of the very point in question. Should it be thought that this superior power of population had been sufficiently exhibited by the comparative ratios contained in the preceding chapter, which is the opinion of the author himself;* still he must allow that it ought to have been affirmed in a separate proposition, in order to place the argument in a legitimate and logical form.

But although the arithmetical and geometrical ratios of subsistence and population respectively may satisfactorily and forcibly illustrate the superior power of population to those who are disposed to admit their justice, still it must be remembered, that the natural tendency to increase, and still more the comparative power of augmenting subsistence, are only and can only be fixed hypothetically. The population of America has increased geometrically

* See Note to Appendix, vol. iii. p. 344.

for the last century; granted; but America is still supported from her own soil; therefore in America subsistence has increased geometrically as well as population: has increased in the four periods of twenty-five years in the proportion of 1, 2, 4, 8. In our own country, on the other hand, produce has been very far from increasing even arithmetically in the same periods of twenty-five years; instead of proceeding at the rate of 1, 2, 3, 4, it has proceeded as 1, $1\frac{1}{4}$, $1\frac{1}{2}$, $1\frac{3}{4}$, 2; and that barely; for our population, which in the course of the century has actually doubled, was not, at the end of it, independent of foreign supplies.

Without intending therefore to assert that Mr. Malthus's calculation is either too high in the one case or too low in the other, since he professes to consider the average state of the whole earth; the fact, we think, should always be kept in view, that the assumption of the comparative ratios is hypothetical, and necessarily must be so: and we may fairly object to its being propounded as a philosophical axiom no less indisputable than the principles of motion or gravitation, or any other of the ascertained and unerring laws of nature, that population increases in a geometrical, and subsistence in an arithmetical ratio. As long as it is understood that this is a mere assumption for the sake of argument or illustration, all is well. But when it is appealed to, as it commonly has been, and as we lately heard it at a public meeting, as a definite ordinance of the Creator; which is, to say the least of it, to place the laws of Providence under a very unprepossessing aspect; it is time to remember, that to prove this is neither the object nor the result of Mr. Malthus's essay. Though the power of population may not be rated too high, speaking of an unlimited state, nor of production too low, speaking of a limited one; still, while the rate of population is taken from one state of society, and of subsistence from another, there will always remain a door of escape to a pertinacious adversary; who can only be chained down to the broad fact, that population has a tendency to increase beyond the means of subsistence.

The arrangement of which we complain has, without doubt, been injurious to the success and reception of the main principle of the Essay. Many persons, for instance, have mistaken in this way the leading object of the work; and Mr. Malthus has found reason to complain of its being said that he had written a quarto volume to prove that population increased in a geometrical, and food in an arithmetical ratio. App. p. 344. Others have caught hold of the belief, that such being the natural difference between the ratios of population and food—the details were introduced in order to show the necessity of misery to reconcile and bring them to a level. *C'est la nécessité de misère qu'il s'agit de démontrer*, says a French

antagonist

antagonist of Mr. Malthus; and then accuses him of uniformly arguing in a circle, and proving the necessity of misery by the existence of misery. Mr. Grahame, another adversary, asserts in still rounder terms, that some philosophers, 'of whom Mr. Malthus is the leader, regard the vices and follies of human nature, and their various products, famine, disease and war, as *benevolent remedies* by which nature has enabled human beings to correct the disorders that would arise from that redundancy of population which the unrestrained operation of her laws would create.'

'These are the opinions,' replies Mr. Malthus, 'imputed to me and the philosophers with whom I am associated. If the imputation were just, we have certainly on many accounts great reason to be ashamed of ourselves. For what are we made to say? In the first place, we are stated to assert that *famine* is a benevolent remedy for *want of food*, as redundancy of population admits of no other interpretation than that of a people ill supplied with the means of subsistence, and consequently the benevolent remedy of famine here noticed can only apply to the disorders arising from scarcity of food.

'Secondly, we are said to affirm that nature enables human beings by means of diseases to correct the disorders that would arise from a redundancy of population;—that is, that mankind willingly and purposely create diseases, with a view to prevent those diseases which are the necessary consequence of a redundant population, and are not worse or more mortal than the means of prevention.

'And thirdly, it is imputed to us generally, that we consider the vices and follies of mankind as benevolent remedies for the disorders arising from a redundant population; and it follows as a matter of course that these vices ought to be encouraged rather than reprobated.

'It would not be easy to compress in so small a compass a greater quantity of absurdity, inconsistency, and unfounded assertion.

'The first two imputations may perhaps be peculiar to Mr. Grahame; and protection from them may be found in their gross absurdity and inconsistency. With regard to the third, it must be allowed that it has not the merit of novelty. Although it is scarcely less absurd than the two others, and has been shown to be an opinion no where to be found in the Essay, nor legitimately to be inferred from any part of it, it has been continually repeated in various quarters for fourteen years, and now appears in the pages of Mr. Grahame. For the last time I will now notice it; and should it still continue to be brought forward, I think I may be fairly excused from paying the slightest further attention either to the imputation itself, or to those who advance it.

'If I had merely stated that the tendency of the human race to increase faster than the means of subsistence, was kept to a level with these means by some or other of the forms of vice and misery, and that these evils were absolutely unavoidable, and incapable of being diminished by any human efforts; still I could not with any semblance of justice be accused of considering vice and misery as the remedies of these evils, instead of the very evils themselves. As well nearly might

I be open to Mr. Grahame's imputations of considering the famine and disease necessarily arising from a scarcity of food as a benevolent remedy for the evils which this scarcity occasions.

But I have not so stated the proposition. I have not considered the evils of vice and misery arising from a redundant population as unavoidable, and incapable of being diminished. On the contrary, I have pointed out a mode by which these evils may be removed or mitigated by removing or mitigating their cause. I have endeavoured to show that this may be done consistently with human virtue and happiness. I have never considered any possible increase of population as an evil, except as far as it might increase the proportion of vice and misery. Vice and misery, and these alone, are the evils which it has been my great object to contend against. I have expressly proposed moral restraints as their rational and proper remedy; and whether the remedy be good or bad, adequate or inadequate, the proposal itself, and the stress which I have laid upon it, is an incontrovertible proof that I never can have considered vice and misery as themselves remedies.'—App. p. 389—392.

This answer is quite decisive. But still it might occur to Mr. Malthus that so great a misapprehension of his views could hardly have become so general, unless there had been something in the conduct and arrangement of his arguments which led to these erroneous conclusions, and counteracted the force of his frequent disclaimers. The explanation, we imagine, is to be found in the unaccommodating ratios of population and subsistence, and the commanding position assigned them in the outset of his book, while an equally formidable array of positive and preventive checks to population is drawn up on the other hand, with the apparent design of bringing them to a level. Whereas if the author had contented himself with beginning from the propositions which he really proves, his work would have had the same utility, and have exhibited the same practical truths, with the additional advantage of less outraging the feelings of his readers. Still the immense superiority of the power of unchecked population to that of production in a limited territory is so undeniable a fact, that it should by no means have been entirely omitted; and it might with great propriety have been brought forward as a corroboration of the general argument of the essay.

If, on the other hand, he had deemed it the most striking or philosophical mode of treating the subject to follow out his original statement, the different ratios of food and population, we think he would have pursued a clearer course of reason by adhering to it, instead of bringing forward a separate string of propositions: for as it is, an opponent may complain that he is required to assent to a different fact from that which is proved to his conviction; or he may find fault with the narrowness of the induction compared with the importance

portance of the conclusion, and appeal to exceptions which different ages and states of society cannot fail to furnish, or resort to some of the various shifts by which it is always possible to block up the avenues of a reluctant understanding. In short, the question is incapable of demonstrative proof, or of determination *a priori*; and the evidence, the practical evidence, that the power of population is infinitely greater than the power of production, must ultimately rest on the actual pressure of population against produce. It is only after pointing out the existence of great and undeniable checks to population, and still proving the close pressure against subsistence, that the superiority of the power of population can be satisfactorily and incontrovertibly established.

If we are right in these strictures upon the conduct of our author's argument, it may account for the known fact, that many intelligent persons have declared themselves dissatisfied with Mr. Malthus's reasoning, though they were unable to deny his conclusions. But whether we are right or wrong, it may be convenient at all events to place the subject in a somewhat different point of view: and accordingly we propose, without hesitation, the following axioms on the subject of population, as unanswerably proved in the Essay before us:—

1. 'Population is necessarily limited by the means of subsistence.' This requires only to be stated.

2. There are various 'checks which repress' the natural 'power of population, and keep its effects on a level with the means of subsistence; which are all resolvable into moral restraint, vice, and misery.'

3. Notwithstanding the effect of these checks, 'population always increases as the means of subsistence increase: or, as it might be affirmed with perfect justice, always increases so as to press against the available supply.

Our readers will observe how far these propositions deviate from the author's own terms, which we stated in a preceding page; and that we consider the superiority of the natural power of population over the power of production, to be proved by the existence of the checks alluded to in the second of our propositions: in spite of which, the pressure of mankind against the existing produce is matter of universal experience. To recapitulate the evidence of these facts, collected by Mr. Malthus, would be to transcribe the first and second books of his work: it is taken from every region of the world, and every period of history, and every stage of society; and largely shews that mankind have uniformly increased and multiplied, in conformity with the command of their Creator; and also that, agreeably to the same Creator's denunciation,

tion, they have always been condemned to acquire their subsistence by painful and continual labour.

The practical conclusion resulting from the book is this: that redundancy is not only a much greater evil than deficiency of population, but much more to be apprehended, much more likely to happen; that legislators therefore begin in the wrong place when they employ any adventitious means to give direct encouragement to population; since they have only to increase subsistence, or the power of commanding it, and population will invariably follow; and in fact does always exist, to the full amount of the available supply of food. This is a question of no slight interest every where; but comes particularly home to our own country; where we have now in regular operation a principle allowed even by its advocates to be a forcing principle, and which, especially during the last twenty years, has been so exercised, as to become an actual bounty on population. If Mr. Malthus is right, such a bounty is not only unnecessary, but must lead to consequences injurious, if not fatal to national happiness. If on the other hand he is wrong, we may still persist in providing at the public expense a subsistence for all who may be born, even if there should be no demand on the part of the community for their labour. As the question is of such important and immediate interest, we will consider in their turn the various objections which may be thought to invalidate Mr. Malthus's conclusions.

I. The first and most obvious of these is taken from the present state of many countries which are known to have been formerly populous, and are now comparatively deserts; as Northern Africa, and Persia, and the immense territories which compose the Turkish empire. When we measure these vast districts on the map, and compare the square miles of fertile territory with the actual number of their inhabitants, the natural impression which the mind receives is that the pressure of population is a vain terror; or, as the French opponent of Mr. Malthus terms it, *un sophisme très habilement soutenu*.

Mankind however, it is very plain, cannot be supported by the possible abundance of their soil, but must depend upon its actual produce. It is sufficiently notorious that Egypt and Greece, and Syria and Anatolia, were formerly as much more populous, than in the state of degradation to which a wretched tyranny has now reduced them, as they were more distinguished in arts and comparative civilization. History points out to us as many cities in those districts, as we can now find villages; and there is little doubt but in those ages less actual distress was felt from insufficient supply than now, when families occupy the place of provinces.

Insecurity

Insecurity of property is the great bane of all these countries. Mankind seem upon the whole to be well enough inclined to industry, if they can only reckon upon reaping its fruits; but no one labours for labour's sake, or sows without a prospect of gathering the harvest. Throughout the whole of these districts, however, the peasant is uniformly subject to plunder of one sort or other; either the legalized exactions of tyranny, or to the devastation of barbarous incursions. Throughout Turkey the system of oppressing and pillaging all who may have collected the most trifling property begins from the throne, and systematically descends through all the ramifications of government. Where all offices are notoriously bought, and bought at a competition; where all are held during pleasure, the pleasure of an insecure and arbitrary despot; do we require the details of travellers to fill up the outlines of such a country, and throw in its darker shades? or is it sufficient to refer to the principles of our common nature, in order to paint the picture in its true colours?

Under circumstances of this nature, it is certainly not surprising that the inhabitants of these countries should be few, either in proportion to their extent, or their possible fertility: the wonder is greater that the people should reach, nay press rudely against the limits of their supply. This fact however is as undeniable as the wretchedness of their political situation, and is authenticated by the testimony of every traveller, Volney, Thornton, Clarke, Morier, &c. who furnish abundant materials to prove, that in spite of the little inducement there is either to live, or to propagate life in these countries, still they are inhabited fully up to the limits of the available subsistence. The want of regular government, and the various political evils under which they labour, can effectually extinguish virtue, and public spirit, and literature, and industry: but population still keeps equal pace with the measure of the supply; still treads so closely upon it, that any deficiency in the seasons, any unexpected drought, or epidemic among the cattle, reduces them to severe distress, and even to absolute famine.

The mistakes on this head are not to be set to the account of our author, but of those among his readers, who because he has represented the lowest classes in these countries as subject to seasons of penury and want, have understood him to mean that overpopulation is the *cause* of their misery. The cause of their misery is the government and the habits it generates: and while these remain, neither the addition nor subtraction of millions of people would make any permanent difference in their situation. The addition, indeed, would cause an immediate famine and mortality; and the subtraction immediate plenty. If half their number were

suddenly exterminated, the remaining half would of course enjoy abundance for a single season: but that season over, the effect would only be to sink the ratio of industry in proportion to the decreased demand, till the numbers gradually reproduced occasioned the necessity of again cultivating the desolated lands.

The just inference from these and all other ill governed or barbarous countries, relates to the tendency of population considered as a law of our nature, and no way bears upon the effects of that law on human happiness. The condition of people so circumstanced would not be one jot the better, though the power of population were diminished to any conceivable extent: indeed it is sufficiently abated by vicious customs and wide-wasting plagues, and probably at the present time is absolutely retrograde. We wish this point to be borne in mind; not only as being important to the question at issue, but as making part of a very general error with regard to the real conclusions deducible from Mr. Malthus's theory. The cause of the distress is moral and political vice; and the distress itself is only brought in as evidence to attest the uniform law which raises population up to the supply of food even under most unfavourable circumstances of natural or civil discouragement.

II. The pressure of population against supply in countries far advanced in civilization is more generally acknowledged by all who have paid attention to the subject. Still it is very possible that those who have not looked into the details of political economy, or accustomed themselves to its language, may not recognize the existence of the pressure so confidently and familiarly assumed. We read of distant times and distant countries in which multitudes have died by famine. There the want of subsistence is a palpable fact. But since the improvements in the circulation and distribution of produce from one country to another introduced by commerce, and from one part of the same country to another, facilitated by internal communication, the misery of *famine* is exchanged for the milder operation of *scarcity*, which only shews itself in an enhancement of the money-price of corn. Besides, a great quantity of human food is wasted in manufactures, is employed in distilleries, or is prodigally consumed in various forms of luxury. How does this agree with the alleged fact, that population presses against the actual supply? This, no doubt, is a very superficial objection, and is answered by the first elements of political science. But as we see every day that many persons, even of those whom they concern, have been very partially imbued with these first elements, we are unwilling to pass it over altogether.

It is evident that the man whose assistance is necessary to any master or employer of workmen must be supported by that employer,

ployer, together with his family. For the precise purpose of obtaining this support, he consents to give his labour: and there are still many cases in which the recompense is actually made in the shape of provision. But one of the first and simplest operations of civilization, is to make all bargains through a common medium; and accordingly the return for labour, like other payments, is given in money. This money payment is very different in different countries, and in the same country at different times; but whatever it is, the quantity of subsistence it will procure, and not the nominal amount of the payment, is the standard by which the labourer's return must be estimated. The only way therefore in which we can judge of the pressure of population, is by the rate of wages; and the only way in which we can estimate the rate of wages, is by the quantity of support which it will procure to the labourer, according to the customary mode of living in the country.

For this reason, from the time when the weekly labour is recompensed in money, the pressure of population is less directly visible to the eye of the common observer. Its operation in itself becomes a more complex concern; and it is moreover concealed from view by the quantity of machinery which is going on together. Its effect however is sufficiently discoverable in the diminished rate of wages, following the increased competition for employ. In countries like America, where there is plenty of fresh land ready to make an ample recompense to any capitalist who will take the pains of reclaiming it from the beasts of the forest, or the wandering savage of the plain, a labourer, in almost any department, may immediately meet with an employer. The competition there is among the masters, to find workmen; not among the workmen to find employ: but in most of the old countries in Europe the tide is commonly setting the other way; and especially in the lowest and simplest operations of industry, the competition is on the side of the labourer. The labourer is therefore in a much greater degree dependent upon his employer, and his remuneration is seldom larger than the support of his family absolutely demands.

To understand in practice what has been thus far stated in theory, our readers have only to look around them, and see the mode in which a great part of their countrymen are at this moment living; and then to answer, whether the human species in civilized countries does not increase up to the lowest quantity of support necessary to their preservation.

Beginning with the case of our peasants, the average wages in husbandry may be rated at 12s. per week: take the wife's earnings at two shillings, the total for the year will amount to £36:8s. With regard to the expenses, no one will place the consumption of a family

mily throughout at less than a half-peck loaf per week to each individual. It is not reckoned lower even by overseers. At 1s the quarter loaf the expense will stand thus, for a family with three children.

Bread for five persons, at 10s. per week,	£26	0	per ann.
Soap and candles, at 8d.	do.	-	1 16
Rent	-	-	3 0
Clothing and furniture	-	-	3 0
Fuel, 2s. in winter, 1s. in summer	-	-	8 4

Total - £37 0

This calculation carries us at once beyond the earnings, though no allowance has been made for medicine, loss of time, or any other article of food than wheaten bread. Whatever *luxuries* are claimed, must be saved out of the necessaries of life, or by substituting a cheaper and less nutritious article for the favourite food of the country; and if there be four children instead of three, under the working age, the additional child brings an expense of £5 per annum, and of course diminishes the chance of the workman's earnings. In estimating the bread too at 1s., we have taken rather a favourable average. Experience of the last twenty years has proved to us that we must not expect a stationary price. In the present year (1817) the average price would be about 1s. 4d. thus adding nine pounds to the annual expenditure, and bringing us so far beyond the actual wages. Yet the poor must be supported in dear years as well as cheap; and the whole statement justifies us in asserting that our agricultural poor are brought by the competition of labourers to as low a rate of wages, both nominal and real, as will enable them to rear a family.

Whoever has travelled in a manufacturing district will not have found things wearing a brighter aspect, or venture to affirm that the population seem better fed, better clothed, or better lodged than nature requires in order to keep up their number. At times indeed there is more variation in their rate of wages than among the peasantry, owing to an unusual demand for some particular manufacture, or to some temporary speculation. But these demands are followed by a decline no less rapid, and the average wages of the year do not exceed a moderate pittance. These facts, gleaned from the very surface of our own country, are domestic proofs of a population reaching the average supply; and it is well known that the effect of the picture would not be altered for the better, if Scotland and Ireland were added to the view. But if we stop here, we shall stop, after all, short of the population. As a population cannot be supported without food, it can never, of course, materially exceed the average supply. Still the tendency

to increase is so strong, that in a civilized or fully peopled country it never rests on this side, it always encroaches a little beyond it. How is this possible? or if possible, how can it be proved?—Too easily. We have seen that labour is the only claim to support which the poorer classes can offer; to be without labour, therefore, is to be without support; and to multiply beyond the demand for labour, is to multiply beyond the available supply of food. But it is matter of experience that in all the departments of national industry there are always more claimants for employ than can obtain it; and though the excess, for obvious reasons, is at different periods very different in degree, the fact is undeniable, that there are always more workmen, than can find employers in manufactures; always more journeymen mechanics, than can be supplied with work; always more agricultural labourers, than, taking the year throughout, can be employed in useful husbandry. Every individual of these superfluous labourers is evidence of a population exceeding the supply of food.

This argument cannot be set aside by urging that if there is an excess of labourers in one department of manufacture, there is a deficiency in another; or that if there is a want of work in one part of the country, there is a want of workmen in another. We must argue of these things as we practically find them; and it is unnecessary to enter upon the question, whether if a central board for labour could be established, as Mr. Colquhoun proposes, the demand upon the whole would not, after a certain time, be just as much above the supply of work that could be furnished, as it is now. Neither is it any sufficient contradiction of the statement, to say that, after all, the number of unemployed workmen is comparatively trifling. In the first place, we feel by too sensible experience that this is not always true. But not to argue on a general fact of our nature from accidental periods of distress, we must remember that in England the law authorises the poor to demand support, whether they can or cannot find employ: and accordingly many of them are set to sift gravel or level mole hills, or something equally profitable, and receive perhaps ten shillings per week for work which does not return a farthing to the employer. In manufacturing towns also, the benevolent sympathy of the masters often keeps a larger number of hands on the list, than they can employ with advantage to themselves; but the support of these superfluous hands must in fairness be set down to the score of charity, and not to an effectual demand for labour. Extensive charities, public subscriptions, and speculative enterprise in this country tend at all times to conceal from public observation the competition of labourers; but we have no doubt that the testimony of

of every parish in the kingdom, town and country taken together, would agree with the evidence actually laid before the Parliamentary Committees, and prove the population to be uniformly beyond the demand for labour, though it might be dangerous to assess the actual amount of the excess. Whether one in ten, or one in fifty labourers who are able and willing to work, are unable to provide a field for their industry, is not very material—it is evident that the redundancy is on the side of the labourer: and somewhere between these two points, we imagine, the experience of different places and periods of time would justify us in fixing the degree of that redundancy.

If this statement is correct, and a just result of what is continually passing before our eyes; then it becomes clear that there is no sufficient foundation for the opinion of an author whose principles we highly respect, and who argues that the collection of a larger part of the people into towns, and their engagement in unhealthy occupations in advanced states of society, so far increases the natural mortality and diminishes the average duration of life, as to equalize the acknowledged disproportion between the powers of population and production. Mr. Malthus, in his Appendix to the present edition, has considered this objection at some length. He admits the possibility of the case, which is provided for in the cautious terms in which his second proposition was enunciated; but he appeals to the state of the various countries in Europe, to shew that there is no appearance of any of them approaching that condition, when moral restraint may become a useless and unnecessary virtue; or when those who are disposed to marry, need employ no previous foresight as to their means of supporting a family.

‘The question,’ he says, ‘can only be determined by an appeal to experience.’ Mr. Weyland is always ready to refer to the state of this country; and, in fact, may be said almost to have built his system upon the peculiar policy of a single state. But the reference in this case will entirely contradict his theory. He has brought forward some elaborate calculations to shew the extreme difficulty with which the births of the country supply the demands of the towns and manufactories. In looking over them, the reader, without other information, would be disposed to feel considerable alarm at the prospect of depopulation impending over the country; or at least he would be convinced that we were within a hair’s breadth of that formidable point of *non-reproduction*, at which, according to Mr. Weyland, the population *naturally* comes to a full stop before the means of subsistence cease to be progressive.

‘These calculations were certainly as applicable twenty years ago as they are now; and indeed they are chiefly founded on observations which were made at a greater distance of time than the period here noticed.

noticed. But what has happened since? In spite of the enlargement of all our towns; in spite of the most rapid increase of manufactories, and of the proportion of people employed in them; in spite of the most extraordinary and unusual demands for the army and navy; in short, in spite of a state of things which, according to Mr. Weyland's theory, ought to have brought us long since to the point of *non-reproduction*, the population of the country has advanced at a rate more rapid than was ever known at any period of its history. During the ten years from 1800 to 1811, as I have mentioned in a former part of this work, the population of this country (even after making an allowance for the presumed deficiency of the returns in the first enumeration) increased at a rate which would double its numbers in fifty-five years.

'This fact appears to me at once a full and complete refutation of the doctrine, that, as society advances, the increased indisposition to marriage and increased mortality in great towns and manufactories always overcome the principle of increase; and that, in the language of Mr. Weyland, "population, so far from having an inconvenient tendency uniformly to press against the means of subsistence, becomes by degrees very slow in overtaking those means."

'With this acknowledged and glaring fact before him, and with the most striking evidences staring him in the face, that even, during this period of rapid increase, thousands both in the country and in towns were prevented from marrying so early as they would have done, if they had possessed sufficient means of supporting a family independently of parish relief, it is quite inconceivable how a man of sense could bewilder himself in such a maze of futile calculations, and come to a conclusion so diametrically opposite to experience.

'The fact already noticed, as it applies to the most advanced stage of society known in Europe, and proves incontrovertibly that the actual checks to population, even in the most improved countries, arise principally from an insufficiency of subsistence, and soon yield to increased resources, notwithstanding the increase of towns and manufactories, may I think fairly be considered as quite decisive of the question at issue.

'But in treating of so general and extensive a subject as the Principle of Population, it would surely not be just to take our examples and illustrations only from a single state. And in looking at the other countries Mr. Weyland's doctrine on population is, if possible, still more completely contradicted. Where, I would ask, are the great towns and manufactories in Switzerland, Norway, and Sweden, which are to act as *the graves of mankind*, and to prevent the possibility of a redundant population? In Sweden the proportion of the people living in the country is to those who live in town as thirteen to one; in England this proportion is about two to one; and yet England increases much faster than Sweden. How is this to be reconciled with the doctrine that the progress of civilization and improvement is always accompanied by a correspondent abatement in the natural tendency of population to increase? Norway, Sweden and Switzerland have not on the whole been ill-governed; but where are the necessary "anticipating alterations," which, according

according to Mr. Weyland, arise in every society as the powers of the soil diminish, and "render so many persons unwilling to marry, and so many more, who do marry, incapable of reproducing their own numbers, and of replacing the deficiency in the remainder?" What is it that in these countries indisposes people to marry, but the absolute hopelessness of being able to support their families? What is it that renders many more who do marry incapable of reproducing their own numbers, but the diseases generated by excessive poverty—by an insufficient supply of the necessities of life? Can any man of reflection look at these and many of the other countries of Europe, and then venture to state that there is no moral reason for repressing the inclination to early marriages; when it cannot be denied that the alternative of not repressing it must necessarily and unavoidably be premature mortality from excessive poverty? And is it possible to know that in few or none of the countries of Europe the wages of labour, determined in the common way by the supply and the demand, can support in health large families; and yet assert that population does not press against the means of subsistence, and that "the evils of a redundant population can never be necessarily felt by a country till it is actually peopled up to the full capacity of its resources?"—vol. iii. pp. 407—412.

The fact is, and Mr. Weyland as a sincere friend to humanity will rejoice at it notwithstanding its effect upon his argument, that the same progressive stage of civilization in which mankind are collected together in large towns, and subjected to the evils and diseases belonging to such a situation, brings also the antidote together with the malady; and by applying more general and more skilful attention to the means of prevention and cure, checks that premature mortality which unhealthy occupations and crowded streets would otherwise occasion. We have been at the pains to verify this observation; and it is a satisfactory result of the inquiry to find, that those closely-peopled seats of manufactories and trade which were once emphatically called the graves of mankind, and in which Mr. Weyland's argument would bury so large a proportion of his countrymen, are now comparatively the abodes of health and longevity; so humane, so successfully and indisputably humane have been the improvements in the management of prisons, and hospitals, and work-houses; the establishment of fever-wards, and the various rules for ventilating, and purifying, and fumigating crowded manufactories.

By a calculation which Mr. Weyland has taken from Price's *Reversionary Payments*, it appeared that the annual deaths even in the small town of Newbury were to the whole population as 1 in 28 or 29, at the time when that calculation was made. Whereas the register of that town for the last ten years shews that the average duration of life is now exactly double. The annual deaths, at the present period, are as 1 in 56 of the whole; the average number
for

for the last ten years amounting to 87, on a population which the last census states at 4900.

Thus it was formerly calculated that in Manchester, containing 84,000 souls, half the number born died under two years of age; in Northampton, containing 7000, under ten; and Mr. Weyland makes these calculations the hinges of his argument. We cannot put in so precise an answer to these particular cases; but common observation, and the judgment of the best-informed persons in those and similar situations concur in persuading us that matters are very different now; not to mention, that as the deaths in the whole of Lancashire are but as 1 in 48, and half the population of that county is contained in the two immense towns of Manchester and Liverpool, it is impossible to doubt the annual births must greatly exceed the annual deaths even in those unfavourable situations; and the population be progressive, instead of requiring continued supplies from the country to replace the domestic waste.

In fact, if this is true of Birmingham, no one will hesitate about Manchester. We have been favoured with an abstract of the baptisms and burials in Birmingham for thirteen years from the beginning of this century, out of which there have been only three, viz. 1801, 1802, and 1810, in which the former have not very considerably exceeded; and in the whole period the births have gained about one-seventh on the deaths, the baptisms averaging 2120 per annum, the burials 1979; or 1 in 43 of the whole population, taken at 85,753 in 1811. The register of the largest parish in the unhealthy city of Coventry gives nearly a similar result. So that the average duration of life in a town of 80,000 persons is fifteen years longer at the present time, than it was in a population of 4,000 fifty years ago. This increased healthiness of the community assists in accounting for the extraordinary increase of population within the last ten years, and in some degree for the pressure which has been lately experienced; as also for the flourishing state of Assurance Societies, and all other institutions which calculate upon the Swedish and other tables of fifty years date; and which ought no longer to be considered as authority for the general average of life in this country.

At all events it is very clear that we cannot depend on the mortality of towns, for ridding us of any superfluous population; and we own it is more gratifying to our minds to conclude that the advancement of civilization should counter-balance the unhealthiness which attends some of its occupations by the improvements of medical skill, than that there should be a constant and necessary waste of human life from premature mortality.

‘ If indeed such peculiar unhealthiness and mortality were the proper and natural check to the progress of population in the advanced stages
of

of society, we should justly have reason to apprehend that, by improving the healthiness of our towns and manufactories, as we have done in England during the last twenty years, we might really defeat the designs of Providence. And though I have too much respect for Mr. Weyland to suppose that he would deprecate all attempts to diminish the mortality of towns, and render manufactories less destructive to the health of the children employed in them; yet certainly his principles lead to this conclusion, since his theory has been completely destroyed by those laudable efforts which have made the mortality of England—a country abounding in towns and manufactories, less than the mortality of Sweden—a country in a state almost purely agricultural.—vol. iii. p. 424.

The conclusion is, therefore, that the natural progress of civilization does not so far retard the natural progress of population, as to counteract its universal tendency to surpass the limits of subsistence: though it is no doubt true that where any such causes of comparative unhealthiness exist, population could never increase in its greatest possible or even its greatest known ratio.

In a country of limited resources, this comparative shortness of life has no other effect than to accelerate the period or increase the chance of marriage. We have before alluded to the different averages exhibited by the table of marriages in the different counties of England. In Warwickshire, 1 takes place annually among 116 persons; in Worcestershire, 1 among 132; in Dorsetshire, 1 in 135; in Monmouthshire, 1 in 153; in all England, 1 in 120; in Wales, 1 in 136. From which it would appear that Monmouthshire, notwithstanding its picturesque beauty, is the very worst place to be born in, and Warwickshire, notwithstanding the smoke of its collieries and steam engines, the very best; and so it is, for all who have learnt from circulating libraries that life without love is not worth the having; but if we proceed to the next column, it appears that the value of love is fairly placed in the scale against the value of life, and that the average expectation of life varies with tolerable exactness according to the average expectation of marriage: the annual burials being to the whole population in Warwickshire, 1 in 42; in Worcestershire, 1 in 52; in Dorsetshire, 1 in 57; in Monmouthshire, 1 in 64; in all England, 1 in 49; in Wales, 1 in 60. This proves, if any thing can prove, the great restraint which prudence imposes in this country upon the power of population; and yet notwithstanding both the prudential restraint and the unhealthiness of many districts, population has proceeded to a length and swelled to an amount which we now find inconvenient, and are obliged to meet by growing demands on public and private charity, and glad to remedy by extensive emigration.

III. The objection which next occurs affords a more plausible argument against the general position. This is the case of agricultural

tural countries, from which provisions of various kinds are regularly exported to supply the deficiency of those in a different state of civilization. The exportation of surplus produce conveys the idea that plenty is to be had at home for little or nothing: and there is no doubt but the country where labour is best rewarded in subsistence at least, if not in general comforts, is a country in this agricultural state, where a large family is a treasure, and where no apprehensions as to the difficulty of supporting one retard the progress of population.

Still, however, the general law asserts its power even here. Population pushes itself fully up to the means of subsistence, if by subsistence we speak of that which is available to their use; though the productive power of the land being as yet commensurate with the activity of population, the one has not outstripped the other. The case therefore which was considered under the last head, of labourers without labour, rarely occurs; but still those who look, even here, for gratuitous supply, will be bitterly disappointed. Those who from accident or misfortune cannot offer the return of labour for what they demand, or who from idleness will not, have much less chance of being maintained without than in a closely-peopled society like ours; while the surplus returns of those who do labour, instead of feeding an idle population, are bartered for artificial luxuries, or for foreign manufactures of necessity, or ornament, or utility. This is even the best state of an exporting country. But in ill-regulated societies, exportation may habitually take place while the mass of the people, or the very labourers who produce the surplus provision, are reduced to a degree of poverty and privation comparatively unknown in the countries which are dependent on them, and receiving the annual supply. Ireland and Poland have long exported; yet no one who knows the situation of their inhabitants will deny that there is more habitual distress, more squalid poverty endured there, than in their customers England and Holland. The actual supply of Ireland consists of the finest pork and beef; but what does this avail the cottier, who is supported on milk and potatoes? The actual supply of Poland consists of the finest wheat, to the growth of which the soil is more favourable than any in Europe; but what does this benefit the peasant, whose ordinary subsistence is obtained from rye bread and an inferior kind of pulse? It is true if the actual quantity of food in any given country could be equally divided amongst the members of it even in a year of the greatest want, and were consumed by them in the most frugal manner, there could seldom be an absolute scarcity, supposing the transaction to be extraordinary, and the division unexpected. But in the nature of things we know this is practically impossible; and that must be taken as the supply of a country, which

which its inhabitants in their several classes are able to command by the labour which in return they are able to offer.

It would therefore be an error to suppose that when we have found a country which, like Poland or America, or that part of Russia which borders on the Black Sea, regularly exports a quantity of human sustenance, we have found a country where mankind do not increase up to the supply. We have found a place, at least America and Russia are instances of it, where a man in possession of a certain capital may say, Here I will fix my standard, here my principal will find an easy employment, and here my labour will secure an ample support to any family which may be sent me. But we have not found a place where a man may say, here is a vacant space and a quantity of superfluous produce which will support me gratuitously at my ease. There is no superfluous food in the world; no where any thing to spare, or to be had without return.

This assertion, if necessary, might receive additional confirmation from inquiring what, after all, is the boasted export of these abundant countries, and what proportion it bears to their own population. The whole of the exports of corn from the United States to all parts of the world in 1805, amounted to

777,543 barrels of flour,

55,400 bushels of oats,

861,501 of Indian corn,

56,836 tierces of rice;

with an inconsiderable growth of rye, wheat, and barley;* all which would furnish, according to the average consumption of England, a year's subsistence to about 200,000 persons; i. e. would support an addition of one thirtieth to the domestic population, rated at that period at six millions. Poland, which has also been inconsiderately treated as an inexhaustible granary, could never supply, during the excessive demand of the late war, more than 500,000 quarters, and on an average not more than half that quantity, i. e. according to our average consumption, at the highest, food for 400,000 persons, at the lowest for 200,000, which probably bears about the same proportion to the Polish population as the exportation from the United States. Yet these are the countries which send abroad by far the greatest quantity of corn, taken in comparison with their population: and when we estimate the dependence of America upon foreign countries for many necessities of civilized life, and most of its luxuries; when we remember that the extensive land proprietors in Poland depend altogether on their

* See Mr. Jacob's pamphlet on the 'Protection of British Agriculture,' p. 56, &c. If some theorists in political economy would consider these facts and calculations, we should hardly be harassed with their speculations for supporting a manufacturing population by foreign agriculture.

exports for the means of a most lavish profusion; when we consider the immense exertions to procure corn which continued from 1795 to 1812, and the enormous price, both actual and relative, which it bore, and that the demand, being in a great measure regular, must have materially increased the cultivation; when we take all these elements into the calculation, we shall be rather struck with the near approach of the inhabitants to the produce, than with the amount of the surplus. The exportation, when reduced to figures, rather tends to show the pressure, than to furnish an exception against it; when we reflect that if the whole of the exported produce had been retained at home, it would not have supported the existing population above ten days beyond the year, or maintained an addition of more than a thirtieth part to the whole. We are inclined to doubt whether all the human subsistence which is exported from all the countries of the world, and is not balanced by a return of equivalent imports, if it could be exactly computed, would be found to exceed what might suffice for a year's supply of a million of persons, i. e. for a thousandth part of the probable population of the world. If this calculation comes any where near the truth, it will powerfully demonstrate the strength of population, with which even the extent and fertility of America or the southern departments of the Russian territory can only just keep pace; and which even the slack demand for labour in Ireland and the wretched vassalage of Poland cannot effectually restrain.

IV. The next objection which we shall briefly notice is of a more delicate nature, and connected with our feelings of natural and revealed religion. Upon this point there is something which well deserves remark in the first reception experienced by our author. He who referred the greatest evils of human life to a strong natural principle, might have looked for popular applause and gratitude, while he seemed to take the blame off our own shoulders, and to throw it upon the constitution of things in which we have no active share; while he endeavoured to exonerate human laws or regulations, and to prove that the disease which preyed upon social happiness was more radical and inveterate than the wisest legislation could cure.

It might have been imagined that the discovery would be hailed as flattering our pride, and accepted as a satisfactory solution of many of those natural and civil evils, which, in spite of all our attempts to eradicate them, have always sprung up in every state of society, which are not only rankly luxuriant under bad administration, but have never been altogether extirpated even by the most careful culture.

On the contrary, the great majority of the public shut their eyes against the facts, and their ears against the conclusion; those who

could not help acknowledging the force of both, took all possible pains to discard them from their minds, and to forget the assent which they could not entirely withhold; and those who were neither able to judge of premises nor inference, proclaimed by a general outcry their weakness and their fears, and started at the name of Malthus as the enemy of God and man. They preferred, it seems, that any imputation should lie against the institutions of society, rather than that they should be forced to give up the flattering prospect of a general amelioration in the condition of the human race. We have always thought this fact not a little remarkable; as furnishing a curious proof of the strong conviction inherent in mankind, that notwithstanding the distresses they see around them and the calamities they are subject to, they are still under the protecting dominion of a merciful as well as a powerful Creator; a conviction so deeply rooted that when they meet with a course of argument which appears to them (whether rightly or not) to end in a contrary conclusion, they at once infer the fallacy of the premises, and had rather mistrust the logic of their heads, than resign the consolatory feeling of their hearts.

Still it was soon found a much easier matter to disbelieve Mr. Malthus than to refute him. This ought earlier to have admonished his opponents, as it has at last taught them, to examine whether his premises, or their conclusions were really in the wrong; whether the fault were in his arguments, or in their impressions; whether, in short, the great features of the country, as he had represented them, were not correctly drawn, though the medium through which they were accidentally viewed had thrown a harsh and disagreeable tone of colouring over the picture: just as the state of the mind, in Crabbe's ingenious tale of the Lover's Journey, gives to the same objects the tint of a March east wind, or of a glowing autumnal evening. It is not difficult to trace a similar effect in the work before us, arising naturally from the leading principle in the author's view when he sat down to the composition. A visionary notion of theoretical perfectibility could only be met by a practical statement of the evils, moral and physical, which beset human nature. Society has no greater enemy than the man who would substitute theory for experience; and no sincerer friend than the man who appeals to experience to refute him. To the chimerical reformer of the political and moral world, Mr. Malthus justly answers, such hopes are illusory and such schemes impracticable, while mankind exist as they are; there is a principle inherent in their very constitution, which will uniformly bring them, as in all ages and countries it has already brought them, into a situation in which there will be labour, indigence, distress, and disease.

Here

Here we have at once a key to the peculiar turn which the argument takes, which is certainly, at first sight, not a little unprepossessing. The principle which the Essay undertakes to explain, is uniformly treated in the light of an EVIL. The very title-page announces 'an inquiry into our prospects respecting the future removal or mitigation of *the evil* which it occasions.' Speaking of moral restraint, the author says, 'if this restraint do not produce vice, it is undoubtedly the *least evil* that can arise from the principle of population.' He elsewhere argues that 'we must submit to the action of a great check to population in some form or other, as an inevitable law of nature; and the only inquiry that remains is, how it may take place with the *least possible prejudice* to the virtue and happiness of society.' Even that habitual prudence, which leads mankind, or ought to lead them, to consider the means of providing for a family before they incur the responsibility of supporting one, is uniformly entitled the '*fear of misery*.'

It is well known what gave the argument this peculiar direction, and brought it into the notice of the world, with a more forbidding aspect than was likely to meet with a welcome reception. Had Mr. Godwin and his party followed another of the various mazes of error, and instead of attacking social institutions, directed their censures against the Creator of the world, who had interwoven with the constitution of mankind a principle which could not fail to render vice and misery universal; then we should have felt the advantage of the same enlightened understanding ready to meet the enemy on different grounds; shifting the line of his argument to encounter the opposite movements of his adversary, and prompt to take up another and an equally strong position. The merest sciolist in the book of nature, he might have argued, knows that he ought to search for good, and not evil, as the final object of any extensive principle in our constitution. The writer whom I oppose impeaches the wisdom of the Creator's measures because he is blind to His designs. Thales might as justly have blamed His arrangement, in revolving the larger round the smaller body, or Ptolemy have censured the want of a continent to balance Africa or Asia. Is it not evident how this pressure of population against the actual subsistence, is uniformly exciting the industry of mankind to render more subsistence available? how the necessities it occasions improve the human faculties by exercise, and invigorate virtue? how it thus furnishes the best opportunities of strengthening those powers which want of exertion uniformly impairs, and of exhibiting those virtues which most conspicuously adorn the moral nature of man? It is for the censurer of the providential arrangement of things to show how the same purposes might have been answered by other and better means. Above all, can we fail to observe that

this principle, imposed as it is by a Creator whom we see and feel to be benevolent, is a strong corroboration of the truth of that revelation which declares mankind to be placed here in a preparatory state? Have we not every reason from analogy to believe, that, if He had intended this for their final destination, He would have rendered perfection attainable; and that, as he has not placed perfection within their reach, he designs this world as a state of discipline?

That such would have been the general strain of our author's reasoning, had he been called upon by circumstances to refute one error instead of another, we never doubted, and the present edition confirms our previous conviction.

'It was my object,' says Mr. Malthus, 'in the two chapters on *Moral Restraint*, and its *Effects on Society*, to shew that the evils arising from the principle of population were exactly of the same nature as the evils arising from the excessive or irregular gratification of the human passions in general; and that from the existence of these evils we had no more reason to conclude that the principle of increase was too strong for the purpose intended by the Creator, than to infer, from the existence of the vices arising from the human passions, that these passions required diminution or extinction, instead of regulation and direction.

If this view of the subject be allowed to be correct, it will naturally follow that, notwithstanding the acknowledged evils occasioned by the principle of population, the advantages derived from it under the present constitution of things may very greatly overbalance them.

A slight sketch of the nature of these advantages, as far as the main object of the Essay would allow, was given in the two chapters to which I have alluded; but the subject has lately been pursued with considerable ability in the Work of Mr. Sumner on the Records of the Creation; and I am happy to refer to it as containing a masterly developement and completion of views, of which only an intimation could be given in the Essay.

I fully agree with Mr. Sumner as to the beneficial effects which result from the principle of population, and feel entirely convinced that the natural tendency of the human race to increase faster than the possible increase of the means of subsistence could not be either destroyed or essentially diminished without diminishing that hope of rising and fear of falling in society, so necessary to the improvement of the human faculties and the advancement of human happiness. But with this conviction on my mind, I feel no wish to alter the view which I have given of the evils arising from the principle of population. These evils do not lose their name or nature because they are overbalanced by good: and to consider them in a different light on this account, and cease to call them evils, would be as irrational as the objecting to call the irregular indulgences of passion vicious, and to affirm that they lead to misery, because our passions are the main sources of human virtue and happiness.

I have always considered the principle of population as a law peculiarly suited to a state of discipline and trial. Indeed I believe that,

in the whole range of the laws of nature with which we are acquainted, not one can be pointed out, which in so remarkable a manner tends to strengthen and confirm this scriptural view of the state of man on earth. And as each individual has the power of avoiding the evil consequence to himself and society resulting from the principle of population by the practice of a virtue clearly dictated to him by the light of nature, and sanctioned by revealed religion, it must be allowed that the ways of God to man with regard to this great law of nature are completely vindicated.

‘I have, therefore, certainly felt surprise as well as regret that no inconsiderable part of the objections which have been made to the principles and conclusions of the *Essay on Population* has come from persons for whose moral and religious character I have so high a respect, that it would have been particularly gratifying to me to obtain their approbation and sanction. This effect has been attributed to some expressions used in the course of the work which have been thought too harsh, and not sufficiently indulgent to the weakness of human nature, and the feelings of Christian charity.

‘It is probable, that having found the bow bent too much one way, I was induced to bend it too much the other, in order to make it straight. But I shall always be quite ready to blot out any part of the work which is considered by a competent tribunal as having a tendency to prevent the bow from becoming finally straight, and to impede the progress of truth. In deference to this tribunal I have already expunged the passages which have been most objected to, and I have made some few further corrections of the same kind in the present edition. By these alterations I hope and believe that the work has been improved without impairing its principles. But I still trust that whether it is read with or without these alterations, every reader of candour must acknowledge that the practical design uppermost in the mind of the writer, with whatever want of judgment it may have been executed, is to improve the condition and increase the happiness of the lower classes of society.’—vol. iii. pp. 424—428.

We introduce this passage, partly as furnishing the best reply to the objection under consideration, and partly to account for the different impression which the *Essay* itself formerly conveyed; but chiefly as an instructive example of that candour which always attends true philosophy. While the ignorant or bigoted writer is only rendered pertinacious by confutation, the philosophic reasoner gives its due weight to his adversary's argument, and is either more firmly settled in his own opinion by impotent attempts to subvert it, or ready to modify his statements where he sees occasion. Truth being his object, he would consent to gain his object even if he were obliged to forego the honours of victory; and, therefore, if the victory finally rest with him, he enjoys the splendour of conquest, and not the mere credit of obstinate resistance.

V. The last objection we shall notice relates to the value of

the whole subject, and of the conclusion to which it brings us. What after all is gained towards that important end, the regulation of private conduct, by these general views? How would it suit the gallantry of one sex, or the delicacy of the other, that public expediency should take place of individual attachment, or the ardour of love be graduated according to the current rate of population?

With respect to this, we know very well that men will marry, as they ought to marry, and as they always have married, on other considerations than those of philosophy or the general good. The high encomium passed upon Cato, *Urbi pater est, urbique maritus*, is not likely to be often claimed in our times, nor are we anxious that it should. Such qualities may be very grand, but they are very unamiable. There is little fear, however, lest men should begin to consult in these private matters any other rule than that which they have hitherto consulted, their own private interest. Can they support the probable expenses of the married state, in that sphere of life in which they were born and educated; or into which they may be contented to descend, in order to gratify one passion at the expense of another? This is the only question they have to ask, and the answer to it will indicate their duty, and ought to direct their conduct. The wages of labour in every profession and vocation not only afford the only practicable rule of individual interest, but are, in fact, a general index of the proportion which the means of subsistence bear to the existing population.

But laying aside individual cases, we entirely concur with the author in the importance of general rules, and therefore in the practical value of that fact which he has added to our stock of universal truths, viz. the tendency of mankind to pass the limit of their subsistence. In all advanced societies mankind exist in a very artificial state, and laws, as we know, are enacted with the intent of directing the habits of the community into those channels which appear most beneficial in the view of the legislator. The question, then, is, what sort of laws are we to promulgate? are we to discourage celibacy? to accelerate the increase of population, and give a bounty on large families? Nor is this only an abstract question, such as Harrington or Sir Thomas More, or any other framer of an ideal commonwealth might have asked; but one that comes particularly home to our English interests. Our poor laws, as now administered, are neither more nor less than a standing bounty on increase, on redundant increase, by supporting at the public expense those fathers of families, who could not support themselves, even whilst single, by labour: and though formerly Mr. Malthus expressed a doubt whether they had really enlarged population so much as they had extended misery, while the redundant (i. e. the unem-

unemployed) poor were crowded into workhouses or farmed out in manufactories, there can now be no question upon the subject, when public money is either added to the regular wages of labour, or supplied in its stead.

When the expediency of such a practice becomes matter of discussion, a general rule of reference is of the utmost importance; and is furnished at once by the universal truth, that mankind have a tendency in all cases to multiply beyond the regular supply of food, or regular demand of labour. This determines the point, and shows that the impulse is to be first applied to labour, which will spontaneously increase population, and not to population, which may not so certainly obtain subsistence by finding labour: and even if it finally succeeds, there is an intermediate risk, and a certainty of distress and discontent.

The importance of having such a rule established may be best appreciated by reflecting on the consequences of wanting, or neglecting it. These were predicted by Mr. Malthus at a period when there was an extraordinary demand for men, and very little disposition to suppose the possibility of any evil arising out of the redundancy of population. But his remarks on the nature and effects of the poor laws have been in the most striking manner confirmed by the experience of the years 1815, 1816, and 1817.

‘ During these years, two points of the very highest importance have been established, so as no longer to admit of a doubt in the mind of any rational man.

‘ The first is, that the country does not in point of fact fulfil the promise which it makes to the poor in the poor-laws, to maintain and find in employment, by means of parish assessments, those who are unable to support themselves or their families, either from want of work or any other cause.

‘ And secondly, that with a very great increase of legal parish assessments, aided by the most liberal and praiseworthy contributions of voluntary charity, the country has been wholly unable to find adequate employment for the numerous labourers and artificers who were able as well as willing to work.

‘ It can no longer surely be contended that the poor-laws really perform what they promise, when it is known that many almost starving families have been found in London and other great towns, who are deterred from going on the parish by the crowded, unhealthy and horrible state of the workhouses into which they would be received, if indeed they could be received at all; when it is known that many parishes have been absolutely unable to raise the necessary assessments, the increase of which, according to the existing laws, have tended only to bring more and more persons upon the parish, and to make what was collected less and less effectual; and when it is known that there has been an almost universal cry from one end of the kingdom to the

other for voluntary charity to come in aid of the parochial assessments.'—vol. ii. pp. 351, 352.

This evil, which we cannot help referring to the existing habit of interference with the wages of labour, and with the ordinary progress of population, can only be remedied by a return to the natural course; and the easiest mode of accomplishing this object is really the single question for Parliament to consider; the extent as well as the cause of the evil itself being alike established by the evidence which they have so laboriously collected. But we must not digress into another wide and difficult field of discussion.

Secondly, it is no slight advantage to be provided with an incontrovertible answer to all sweeping reformers; and to know on positive grounds that the face of civilized society must always remain uniform in its principal lineaments, and be distinguished by the same features which it has hitherto borne; that our business therefore is to lessen or remove its blemishes, and to prevent their growing into deformities: but that we can no more organize a community without poverty, and its consequence, severe labour, than we can organize a body without natural infirmities, or add a limb to the human frame. Some perhaps may think it a misfortune to know thus much—and certainly if ignorance in this case would lead to bliss, it were folly to be wise; but it can only conduct to inevitable misery. In fact, the present year has shewn the practical value of this advancement in our knowledge. The Spenceans, it is true, who coolly talk of dividing the land among the people and establishing an Agrarian Republic, are not of a sort to be addressed by reason. But it is always satisfactory to have reason on the side of law; and to be prepared to prove, if any will listen, that these new sons of the earth, these ΣΠΑΠΤΟΙ of modern sedition or modern ignorance, after having devoured all the property of the country, would soon be reduced, like their predecessors of old, to the necessity of devouring one another. And that their leaders, however ill-informed, have sense enough to discover the barrier which the Principle of Population opposes against their schemes, is evident from the rancorous hostility with which Evans, the Cadmus of the tribe, has attacked Mr. Malthus in what he is pleased to entitle his 'Christian Policy.'

With this general view of the bearings of the subject upon our internal economy, we shall close our remarks upon the important addition to political science contained in Mr. Malthus's Essay. Upon the book itself, which has already reached a fifth edition, it would now be superfluous to pronounce an elaborate opinion. The author, as we have often intimated, might have clothed his principles in a more attractive garb, and have introduced them to the public under a more favourable aspect: and we cannot help regretting

greeting that the same masterly hand, which first pointed out why equality, and plenty, and community of goods were unattainable to beings constituted like mankind, had not also proceeded to show that they were no less undesirable; that the same powerful guide, who first checked, in her untried course, the frail bark of universal happiness, sailing as she was 'with youth at the prow and pleasure at the helm,' and pointed out the unforeseen bank on which she could not fail to split, had not also taken the pains to prove that the course human nature was forced to pursue is also the best it could pursue, when the object and end of the voyage are added to the consideration.

ART. IV. 1. *Narrative of a Survey for the purpose of discovering the Sources of the Ganges.*

2. *A Journey to Lake Manasarowara in Undés, a Province in Little Thibet.* By William Moorcroft, Esq.

3. *On the Height of the Himalaya Mountains.* By H. T. Colebrooke, Esq. *Asiat. Res.* vol. xii. 4to. Calcutta. 1817.

THE sources of great rivers and the summits of high mountains have been, at all times, objects of anxious research, either from the impulse of superstition, or the more laudable motive of extending the limits of human knowledge. In the latter point of view, we are disposed to consider the three tracts placed at the head of this Article as the most important which have hitherto appeared in the 'Transactions of the Society' for inquiring into the history and antiquities, the arts, sciences and literature of Asia; because, imperfect as they are, they tend to elucidate the geography, and add somewhat to the natural history, of one of the most interesting portions of the globe—the upper and central regions of Asia.

It had long been suspected that the course given to the Ganges of a western direction from the Manasarowar lake on the northern side of the Himalaya mountains as far as Ladack, and back again to the eastward, till it penetrated these vast snowy ranges, and gushed out at the Cow's-mouth, on the southern side, was founded on insufficient authority. At the suggestion, therefore, of Colonel Colebrooke, the sanction of the Bengal government was solicited, and obtained, for this officer to undertake an expedition to ascertain the fact; but he was prevented by an illness which terminated in death. The execution of the plan then devolved on his assistant, Lieutenant Webb, who, accompanied by the Captains Raper and Hearsay, set out in the spring of the year 1808, for Haridwar; whence they proposed to commence their arduous task, as soon as the fair, which is annually held at that place, should be ended.

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Mr. Webb was instructed to survey the Ganges from Haridwar to Gangoutri, or Gangowatri, where this river has been supposed to force its way by a subterraneous passage, through the Himalaya mountains, or to fall over their brow in the form of a cataract; he was directed to ascertain the dimensions of the latter, (if, in defiance of probability, it should be found to exist,) and, should it not prove to be the source of the Ganges, to trace, by survey, this branch of the river as far towards it as might be practicable: in particular, he was to endeavour to learn whether, as some Indian authorities stated, and as Major Rennell was inclined to think, this main branch of the Ganges had its source in the celebrated lake Mansarower, or Manasarowar, situated on the northern side of the Snowy Mountains; and, if so, to obtain its bearing and distance. He was also instructed to fix the positions of Bhadri-nath and Cedara-nath, near to which, according to information obtained by Colonel Hardwicke, the two branches of the Ganges, called the Alacananda and the Cédár, took their rise.

Haridwar (from *Harí*, Vishnu, and *dwará*, a door or passage) is the place where the united streams of the Ganges, after forcing their way through the mountainous regions which fence in, as it were, the base of the Himalaya on its southern side, first enter the plains of Hindostan; it is a place regarded by the Hindoos with peculiar veneration. To this hallowed spot, an annual pilgrimage is enjoined; and here also an annual fair is held called the Mela. For the double purpose of making their ablutions in the sacred stream, and trading, people of every rank, age and sex, from every part of India, from the Penjab, Caubul, Cashmere and the upper regions of Tartary assemble here in the month of March: every twelfth year is celebrated by greater festivities than ordinary, and by a greater concourse of people. The period at which Lieutenant Webb and his party arrived at Haridwar, happened to be one of these duodecennial meetings;—just twelve years after Colonel Hardwicke had visited the same spot: but the humanity of the Bengal government, which has so frequently and so effectually been displayed over every portion of its wide possessions, had stepped in, on the present occasion, to prevent the repetition of those scenes of outrage and murder, which were witnessed with such horror by Colonel Hardwicke,* and stationed a detachment of troops there for the preservation of the peace. A European can form but a very imperfect notion of the multitudes brought together on such an occasion. Colonel Hardwicke estimates the number at two millions and a half, which, from the information obtained from a Gosseyn, he thinks rather under than over the truth; and Captain Raper, who considers it impossible to

* This gentleman states that five hundred fakcers were killed, and a greater number wounded, the last day of the Mela, by the Seiks. *As. Res.* vol. vi.

form any accurate computation, ventures to rate those which he saw at more than two millions. 'Towards the end of the festival,' he says, 'every avenue is closed by the swarms which pour in from all quarters. Those who come merely for the purpose of bathing arrive in the morning, and, after performing their ablutions, depart in the evening, or on the following day; by which means a constant succession of strangers is kept up, occasioning one of the most busy scenes that can well be conceived.' These ephemeral visitors bring, in general, their own provisions with them; but thousands of carts are employed in conveying grain to the fair, chiefly from the Duab; and though the consumption occasioned by such hosts of people would lead one to apprehend a scarcity in the neighbourhood, the appearance of the crops was sufficient to quiet all uneasiness on that score; the whole country exhibiting to the surveying party 'a perfect picture of affluence and plenty.'

It is highly gratifying to find that the mild but superstitious Hindoos are not insensible to the attention thus given to their conveniences and comfort by the British government; while, at the same time, all due respect is paid to their religious prejudices. The following account will be read with pleasure after the painful narrative of Col. Hardwicke.

'The tenth of April, being the *Purbi*, or last day of bathing, the crowds of people were immense, every avenue to the *Ghât* was completely choked up; and the flight of steps, leading to the water, poured down from the top such a constant succession of fresh comers that the lower tiers were unable to resist the impetus, and were involuntarily hurried into the stream. The fair, however, concluded without any troubles or disturbance, to the great surprise and satisfaction of numbers, who were accustomed to consider bloodshed and murder inseparable from the *Cumb'ha Méla*, as, for many ages past, their duodecennial periods have been marked with some fatal catastrophe. A very salutary regulation was enforced by our police; prohibiting any weapons being worn or carried at the fair. Guards were posted at the different avenues, to receive the arms of the passengers; a ticket was placed on each, and a corresponding one given to the owner; the arms were returned on the ticket being produced.

'This arrangement had the desired effect, for the utmost tranquillity prevailed, and from the content and satisfaction that were expressed by all ranks of people, on this occasion, we may anticipate the praises that will be carried hence, to all parts of Hindostan, on the mild system of the British government.'—p. 461. *Raper*.

The fair being ended, the surveying party proceeded to the northward in order to fall in with the *Bhágirath'i*, or most western branch of the Ganges, (except the *Yamuna*,) whose source was imagined to be at or near *Gangoutri*. The authority on which the supposition rested was founded not merely on that of the native Hin-

doos,

doos, but on the map of M. Anquetil du Perron, constructed from materials furnished by the Jesuit Tiefentaller, who was supposed to have visited the spot in person, though Mr. Colebrooke is induced to think that he describes the Cow's-mouth from the report of others. It is not our intention to follow the travellers through all the perils of this route—through beds of torrents; along narrow paths skirting the most frightful precipices; at one time clambering up steep ascents, at another time sliding down precipitous declivities:—we must content ourselves with noticing a few remarkable objects, and pointing out some of the most striking features of the country.

In passing from Nagal to Mugra, a distance of about ten miles, our travellers crossed a mountain of about two thousand feet in height, being in certain places almost perpendicular, the foot path running in a zigzag direction, sometimes along a narrow ridge, not more than a foot in width, and having a precipice on the outer side of six or seven hundred feet in depth. The natural products hitherto observed, were white mulberries, figs, willows, and the *pinus longifolia*; they also noticed peacocks, and black partridges, (*tetrao francolinus*;) and a few fields of wheat and barley under cultivation. On the next mountain, to the northward, which was about twelve hundred feet high, they recognized, among its vegetable productions, the peach and the apricot, the walnut, strawberry and raspberry, the white rose, the dandelion and the butter flower, (we suppose the yellow *ranunculus*;) besides whole forests of the pitch pine, called by the natives the *Deodar* (*pinus Düedwara* of Roxburgh).

At Lallari, a few miles farther, the land was observed to be well cultivated, and the sides of the hills cut into terraces, faced with stone, and watered by rills issuing from the heights, and conducted from the upper to the lower platforms in succession, precisely as in China. The higher grounds were covered with immense forests of a species of oak, and the *Rhododendron Puniceum*.

In advancing to the northward they reached the summit of a table land, which overtopped all the mountains in the neighbourhood, and from which they were gratified with a sight which is described as the most sublime and awful that can be pictured by the imagination—'from the edge of its scarp, (the travellers say,) the eye extended over seven or eight distinct chains of hills, one rising above the other, till the view was terminated by the Himalaya, or Snowy Mountains.' The intermediate ranges appeared to run nearly parallel; their general direction was about N.W. and S.E. which is also that of the Himalaya. The altitude and direction of the most distinguished of the snowy peaks, the Gangoutri, and Jamautri, out of which the Ganges and Yamun are supposed to rise, were observed from this place, those of the former being N. $46^{\circ} 3'$ E. and the angle of elevation $3^{\circ} 1'$; of the latter N. $18^{\circ} 34'$ E. and the angle $3^{\circ} 17'$:

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the horizontal distance, according to the best estimate which they were able to form, was about thirty miles; but this, short as it was, according to the computation of the natives, was a journey of twelve days.

Descending by the Nagur Ghát, they had now, for the first time, a view of the Bhágirat'hi river, which was hailed by all the Hindoo attendants with loud acclamations, and with the accustomed terms of salutation and respect. In traversing the banks of this river, on one side naked mountains, with here and there a solitary fir, on the other rich and flourishing crops, exhibited a pleasing contrast: the sound of the rustic pipe attracted the attention of the travellers to the labours of the field, where both sexes were busily employed in the pursuits of agriculture; wheat, barley, and rice were the chief articles of produce. Both men and women appeared to be more civilized than in the lower countries; and the latter shewed less bashfulness and reserve than the females of Hindostan generally exhibit. A short petticoat and a loose jacket, with sleeves of coarse woollen cloth, constituted the dress of both sexes; but the ladies had, in addition, a piece of cloth twisted round the head in the form of a turban. 'We could not help remarking (say the travellers) that, even in those unfrequented regions, the female mountaineers exhibited the general failing of the sex, having their necks, ears and noses ornamented with rings and beads. When these are beyond their means, they substitute a wreath or bunch of flowers; for which purpose the white rose is chosen, both for its beauty and scent.'

The Bhágirat'hi, and other mountain-streams, are crossed by different kinds of bridges, but the most common are the *Sānga* and the *Jhula*; the former consisting of one or two fir trees thrown from bank to bank, or from one rock to another; the other, of a rope ladder laid across, with ropes on each side of it to hold by: the depth below, the roaring of the torrent, and the swinging of the ladder, give to the novice a sensation of something more than giddiness.

Near Báharát was a trident of brass, whose shaft was twelve, and whose forks were six feet in length. It had an inscription not much injured by time, but no one could tell in what language the characters were written: they were thought to resemble the Chinese; and the natives have a tradition, that many centuries ago the Chinese or Tartars had possession of the country. The trident is in fact a common emblem of the Chinese river-deity. The inscription is regarded as a curiosity by the natives, and many fruitless attempts have been made to decypher it. The late rajah of Nepaul sent several learned pundits for this express purpose; but they failed, like the rest; and we cannot therefore but regret that, as a copy of it was taken by our travellers, it was not given to the public from
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the Calcutta press.—We strongly suspect it to be Chinese, and are somewhat confirmed in our opinion by the description of a small temple at the village of Bat'héri supposed to be sacred to the Ma-ha'deva, but which bears 'a great resemblance to a Chinese model.'

Two days further travelling, over every kind of impediment and with great fatigue, brought the party within six or seven days' journey of Gangoutri; and here their progress was stopped: but, from the contraction of the stream, and the stupendous height of the Himalaya mountains, 'there can be no doubt (they say) but its source is situated in the snowy range; and any other hypothesis can scarcely be reconciled to hydrostatical principles.'—We are not quite sure that we comprehend the force of this argument;—at all events, we think it by no means conclusive—but the pilgrims and the natives assured them that the country beyond Gangoutri was passable only for a few miles, when the stream is entirely concealed under heaps of snow which no traveller ever has surmounted or can surmount. The same story might have been heard without stirring from Calcutta. The party themselves were evidently not quite satisfied, either with their own observations, or the account of the pilgrims; for, on commencing their retrograde march, they dispatched a mounshee, with two or three volunteer Hindoo pilgrims to Gangoutri, to make further observations:—a pilgrimage to this place is, it seems, considered as so great an act of devotion, that he who performs it is supposed to be redeemed not only from all the troubles of this life, but to be ensured a happy passage through all the stages of transmigration which he is destined to undergo. This party rejoined our surveyors eighteen days afterwards, at Srinagur. It appears that, for the first three or four days, they were drenched with rain; and that two days before they reached Gangoutri, they were overtaken by a fall of snow, which occasioned no small degree of alarm, none of them having before seen, except from a distance, water in a congealed state. The mounshee confirmed the report that, a few miles beyond Gangoutri, the river was entirely concealed under beds of snow, beyond which no person had hitherto been known to penetrate; he added, that the breadth of the stream is there about fifteen or twenty yards, and not above waist deep, and the current moderate: two miles beyond this, he said, is the *Gau-muc'hi*, or Cow's-mouth; it is a large stone, situated in the middle of the bed, the water passing on each side. In the mounshee's field-book, which Mr. Colebrooke has subjoined to his tract on the Height of the Himalaya mountains, the Cow's-mouth is thus noticed. 'In the bed of the river I saw a rock two or three paces wide and five long, bathed by the river on both sides, and overhanging the stream; the depth of water being very small. This rock exhibits a similitude of the body and mouth of a cow.' A little farther on, the river is stated

stated to have disappeared under the snow, which being soiled appeared like the earth of cultivated fields. Again the Ganges shewed itself at the distance of about three miles beyond Gangoutri, and the mounshee's description of this place is worthy of notice, as appearing to decide the question as to the source of this branch, at least, of the Ganges.

'In front was a steep mountain like a wall of rock, from an angle of which the Ganges appeared to come. Beyond the present station was nothing but snow, nor any road, but that termination of the valley. From dread none would venture into the water of the Ganges. The snowy tops of the mountains appeared of various height; and not the least sign of vegetation; nothing but snow, masses of which were falling from the mountains. As the people in company were deterred from advancing, and there appeared no road by which to penetrate, and further progress seemed full of peril and of terror, I was under the necessity of returning to Gangawatri.'—p. 285.

The Cow's-mouth is not, therefore, as Major Rennell was led to conclude, a cavern, out of which the Ganges gushes *through* the Himalaya; and 'thus (he adds) appearing to incurious spectators to derive its original springs from this chain of mountains.' If the mounshee may be trusted, the Hindoos were perfectly right in representing the sources of the Ganges to lie at the foot of the Snowy Mountains; and this fact, at least, may serve to reduce the number of the blunders in Ptolemy's description of central Asia, so ingeniously discovered and so industriously pointed out by the French geographers, one of which was that of his having placed the source of the Ganges in the Imaus (Himaleh) instead of *beyond* it.

The distance in a direct line from Haridwar to the last point which the party reached, as appears by the chart, is about forty-five miles, and they took eighteen days, namely, from the 12th to the 29th April, in travelling it: the thermometer was generally from 30° to 54° in the morning, and once, at mid-day, as high as 91° in the shade. They were still six days' journey from Gangoutri, the latitude of which is something more than 31° N. Returning to the southward, they arrived at Devaprayaga on the 11th May. It is situated at the confluence of the Bhágirat'hi and the Alacananda. Of these *Prayagas* or confluences of rivers, five principal ones are mentioned in the Sástras, as places peculiarly sacred; three of these are higher up the Alacananda, and one is lower down, at Allahabad, where the Yamuna, or Jumnah, falls into the Ganges. The contrast in the character of the Bhágirat'hi and the Alacananda is sufficiently striking; and the quaint manner of describing it not less so; it puts us in mind of the style of Purchas: 'The Bhágirat'hi,' says Captain Raper, 'runs down a steep declivity with a rapid force, roaring and foaming over large stones and fragments placed in its bed,

bed, while the placid Alacananda, flowing with a smooth, unruffled surface, gently winds round the point till, meeting with her turbulent consort, she is forcibly hurried down, and unites her clamours with the blustering current.'

Though the Bhágirat'hi has the honour of being considered as the main branch of the Ganges, the Alacananda is, both in width and depth, the more considerable stream, being, near its junction with the former, one hundred and forty-two feet in breadth, and in the rainy season, forty-six or forty-seven feet in depth. The rope-bridge, which, in May, was fifty-two feet above the level of the water, was said to be frequently carried away by the torrent. The Bhágirat'hi is one hundred and twenty feet in breadth, and commonly rises about forty feet in the rains. Below their junction, the ordinary width of the Ganges is two hundred and forty feet. At the point of junction, and on the scarp of the mountain, is situated the town, of about two hundred houses, inhabited by Brahmins of different sects, who hold twenty-five villages in jaghire: as the annual produce, however, is not more than a few hundred rupees, they exact fees from the pilgrims for the privilege of bathing; and many of them keep shops. At the upper end of the town is a temple dedicated to Ramachandra; its form is that of a quadrilateral pyramid, bulging out in the centre, and decreasing towards the top; it is surmounted by a white cupola, over which, supported by wooden pillars, is a square sloping roof, composed of plates of copper: a gilded ball and spire crown the whole; the height is about seventy feet, and the square terrace on which it is raised, six feet. Within the temple was a brazen image under the human form, with an eagle's beak instead of a nose, and a pair of spreading wings attached to the shoulders. This is precisely the Chinese Jupiter—*Lui-shin*, the spirit presiding over thunder and lightning. The Brahmins knew nothing of the founder of the temple; all they were positive about was, that it had been in existence ten thousand years! One of their daily occupations is that of feeding the fish in the river (*Cyprinus denticulatus*) with bread, which they are tame enough to take out of their hands: they are said to be four or five feet in length.

Our travellers found the city of Srinagur in a most deplorable condition. The encroachments of the Alacananda, the earthquake of 1803, which shook every building to its foundation, and the Gurc'hali invasion at the close of the same year, formed such an accumulation of evils, that it seems, says Captain Raper, as if fate had decreed that this devoted capital should not survive its native princes. When Colonel Hardwicke visited this place in 1796, it was under the government of a Raja, to whom it had come by hereditary descent through many generations. All now appeared

to

to be ruin and desolation; marks of sorrow were evident on every countenance, and the inhabitants, in speaking of their unfortunate sovereign, betrayed feelings of loyalty hardly to be expected from the subjects of a despot.

'They seemed to have pleasure in relating little anecdotes that brought him to their recollection; and talked, in the presence of some *Gurc'hali* sepahis, in a manner that astonished us. "These," cried one, "were the apartments allotted for the Rani and her attendants;" "in these," said another, "the Raja held his court; here he performed his religious devotions, and there he used to repose in the heat of the day; but all is now gone to wreck, and what the earthquake saved the *Gurc'hali*s have destroyed." These sentiments were, no doubt, dictated by their real feelings; for whatever oppressions they might formerly have laboured under, they, no doubt, fall short of the exactions of the present day.'—vol. xi. p. 496.

The miseries of Srinagur, however, appear not to have deprived the Hindoo Venus and the *Rassea Dévi*, the god of love, of their votaries. At the shrine of the former a society of dancing women, having formally abjured the authority of their parents, devote their lives to prostitution; and the shafts of the latter divinity are said to be so widely scattered and tainted with such pernicious poison, 'that four fifths of the inhabitants are fatally sensible of their effects.'

A ceremony of the hill-people was performed during the stay of the party at Srinagur. It is called the *Bhart* or *Bheda*, and appears to be a kind of propitiatory invocation to the genius of the mountain, with a view to obtain his protection for the crops. One end of a thick rope was fastened to a stake near the bed of the river; the other was carried by eighty or a hundred men to the top of a mountain 'nearly a mile in ascent,' where, being passed round a large tree, it was hauled 'as tight as it could be stretched. On this rope a man of the caste of *Nats* or tumblers was placed astride, with bags of sand fastened to his legs and thighs, to assist in preserving his balance; and in this posture, being gently pushed from the summit, he arrived in safety at the bottom. This appears to us a most extraordinary performance: we cannot conceive the possibility of stretching a rope tight of a mile in length; nor of a person's sliding on a *slack* rope in an inclined position. The performances of *Madame Saqui* shrink to nothing before this. Accidents, it seems, occasionally happen; and certain death is the consequence of the failure: for though the performer should escape without harm from the fall, the penalty of his awkwardness must still be paid, and his head be severed from his body, as an atonement to the offended spirit.

Carna-prayaga, situated at the confluence of the *Pindar* and the *Alacananda*, is about thirty-five miles in a straight line eastward of

Srinagur. Near this place the party observed a kind of bridge foreign, as they say, to India. From a stone pier on each bank strong beams were thrown out horizontally, the one above the other, the lowest projecting about two feet, and each successive one lengthened in the same proportion, so as to form a kind of arch; in the centre was a space of ten or twelve feet, which was covered with planks. Large stones, however, so placed, and conveying the appearance of a Gothic arch, are by no means uncommon in India; and the bridge of Wandipore, of which there is a print in Turner's Embassy to Bootan, is thus constructed. Beyond this was a fine plain, a mile and a half in diameter, on which numerous herds of cattle were seen grazing. The reason assigned for devoting so valuable a tract of ground entirely to pasturage, was this: A Zemindar happened by accident to kill a cow: distressed at the impiety of the deed, and at the heavy penalty to which it subjected him, he represented his misfortune to a rich merchant of Dekhin; then on a pilgrimage; 'the merchant, touched with compassion, purchased this ground for three thousand rupees, and dedicated it to Bhadrinat'h, in the name of the guilty person, as an atonement for the offence; on express condition that it should be applied to no other purpose than that of pasturage for kine.'

Nanda-prayaga is situated at the junction of the Nandacni with the Alacananda, into which it falls from the S. E. at the distance of eight or ten miles from the former prayaga. The Birhi Ganga is the next stream that joins the Alacananda in a parallel direction to the Nandacni; but it has not the honour of being a prayaga. From the last to Vishnu-prayaga, where the Dauli or Niti falls into the Alacananda from the eastward, it is twenty-five miles; the road, which is exceedingly bad, is in some parts elevated to the height of three or four thousand feet above the bed of the river: mountains covered with snow were seen at the distance of eight or ten miles. These, however, could not be the Himaleh, the nearest point of which, according to Moorcroft, is full forty miles distant from Salier. The two small branches of Vishnuganga and Saraswatiganga, whose united streams form the Alacananda, gush out of these mountains and form a confluence with the Dauli. This stream is stated to be thirty-five or forty yards in width, while the Vishnuganga is not more than twenty-five or thirty. From this point of junction, along the banks of the latter river, the mountains rose on each side to a stupendous height, meeting so nearly at their bases as to leave only a passage of forty or fifty feet for the bed of the stream, which was every where obstructed by huge masses of rock: in one place a cascade of ninety or a hundred feet rolled over large fragments into the river, near to which it was crossed by a *sangha* of three small fir spars, at the height of a hundred and fifty

feet

feet above the current. Narrow paths cut into the solid rocks, steps of loose stones, planks from one projecting rock to another, and ladders placed horizontally across deep ravines, made the progress equally slow and hazardous.

In advancing upon Bhádrinat'h our travellers had to pass over beds of snow, some of which could not be less than seventy or eighty feet in thickness: the river was occasionally concealed under these beds. 'We are now,' says Captain Raper, 'surrounded by hoary tops, on which snow eternally rests and blights the roots of vegetation. The lower parts of the hills produce verdure and small trees. About midway the fir rears its lofty head; but the summits, repelling each nutritious impulse, are veiled in garments of perpetual whiteness.'

Two miles beyond Bhádrinat'h stands the town of Manah, at the foot of a mountain which bounds the valley to the north-eastward. The breadth of the stream is here reduced to eighteen or twenty feet; the current shallow and moderately rapid. Two or three miles farther on, we are told that 'the north faces of the mountains, to the south of the river, were completely covered with snow from the summit to the base:' a short march from this place, brought them opposite to a water-fall called Barsù Dhara, where the Alacananda or Vishnuganga was entirely concealed under immense heaps of snow: beyond this point, we are told, travellers have not dared to pass; and here also terminated the journey of our present adventurers, being about twenty miles south of the base of the Himalaya mountains. It is very remarkable that the town of Manah, situated in so unpromising a spot, should be more populous than any they had met with of the same extent: it consisted of two hundred houses, and fourteen or fifteen hundred people, of a different race from the other mountaineers, and strongly resembling the Tartars, from whom they doubtless descend, having broad faces, small eyes, and complexions of a light olive colour. The inhabitants all came out to meet the party; and Captain Raper says, 'we observed a greater display of female and juvenile beauty than we recollect to have seen in any *Indian* village. The women were in general handsome, with complexions approaching to the floridness of Europeans; they and their children were weighed down under a load of silver and gold ornaments in the shape of ear-rings, nose-rings, necklaces, and bracelets, which but ill corresponded with the coarseness of their dress, and the meanness of their habitations.'

The temple of Bhádrinat'h is considered as a place of superior sanctity, and is placed near warm sulphureous baths in which both sexes perform their ablutions, under the same roof, without considering any partition necessary to preserve the appearance of decency. There are several other springs in the neighbourhood,

some warm and some cold, each having its particular virtue which the Brahmins turn to a good account. 'In going the round of purification, the poor pilgrim finds his purse lessen as his sins decrease; and the numerous tolls that are laid on this high road to paradise, induce him to think that the straightest path is not the least expensive.' Besides these resources, seven hundred villages are said to be attached to this temple. Our travellers understood that forty thousand pilgrims, mostly fakirs, had visited Bhádrinat'h that year. The ceremonies are the same as at other Hindoo temples. After washing away all their impurities, the men who have lost their fathers, and the women who have buried their husbands, submit to the operation of tonsure, which completes their purification, and fits them for appearing in the presence of the divinity. The direct distance from Srinagur to Bhádrinat'h is about eighty miles; it took our travellers twelve days, from the 18th to the 29th May, to perform the journey; the thermometer was never lower than 59° in the morning. The products of the mountains were the same as those along the Baghirat'hi branch: but a beautiful fish common in the Alacananda, deserves to be noticed: it is called the *Sóher*, and grows to the length of six or seven feet; the scales on the back and sides are of an exquisite green, encircled with a bright golden border; the belly is white, slightly tinged with gold; the tail and fins are of a dark bronze; and its flavour is said to be equal to its beauty.—p. 494.

Having travelled thus far with Captain Raper and Lieutenant Webb, we must now take up Mr. Moorcroft at the confluence of the Dauli and the Alacananda; the former of which ought in fact to be considered as the main branch of the Ganges, if length of course be entitled to that distinction: for the Dauli proceeds from the very base of the chain, and one of its tributary streams issues from the pass which leads through the Himalaya mountains, whereas the Alacananda has its source in the inferior hills, short of the Snowy Mountains.

Mr. Moorcroft is no stranger to our readers,* though he now appears, for the first time, in a regular shape before the public. The immediate object of his hazardous expedition is stated to be that 'of opening to Great Britain the means of obtaining the materials of the finest woollen fabric;' by which, we suppose, is meant the shawl goat, or, perhaps, a market for the wool of that goat. He was accompanied by Captain Hearsay, who had formed one of the party of Captain Raper and Lieutenant Webb; and he hired a pundit, of the name of Harkh Deo, for the singular purpose of *striding* the whole route by regular paces of four feet—a task which we have no very distinct notion how this learned person contrived to accom-

* No. XXVII. Art. VIII.

plish, across the hills and valleys, the steep rocks and the deep ravines of the mountainous regions of the Himalaya. The distances, however, so paced, are all recorded in the journal; and if, from these and a compass, and nothing else is mentioned, the chart which accompanies the narrative has been laid down, great allowances must necessarily be made for its accuracy. 'We were obliged (Mr. Moorcroft says) to climb up rocks nearly perpendicular, and on which irregularities, for the toe to hang upon, were at a most inconvenient distance;' to pass where 'points of rock projected to the edge of the river, and these were turned by rude staircases made of wood and stone,' and where 'the eye could not for a moment quit the road and suffer the feet to proceed without risk of accidents;' where zig-zag lines up the steep ascent of mountains turned in sharp angles at every ten or twelve feet, along which it was necessary 'to cling with the hands to shrubs, roots of trees, clumps of grass, and clods of earth; and sometimes to creep on hands and knees to prevent slipping.' Yet the only spot at which it is recorded that the worthy pundit remitted his four feet strides, and 'hesitated and retired into a hollow,' was a path skirting the very verge of a tremendous declivity below, out of which narrow ledge a piece of rock had slipped, leaving a gap just sufficient to shew a precipice of such a depth as might appal the stoutest heart. Such was the greater part of the road from the commencement of the Dauli to the summit of the Niti Ghati pass through the great chain of the Himalaya, a direct distance, according to Mr. Moorcroft's map, of about fifty English miles, which took the party eighteen days in travelling; that is, ten days to Niti and eight days from that place to the summit of the pass. We cannot follow them day by day in this tedious but most curious journey, and must therefore content ourselves with noticing what may appear most interesting, before we enter upon the new world which opens upon us behind the Snowy Mountains.

Their course was, as we observed, along the banks of the Dauli, the spring-head of whose numerous branches is in the very centre of the Himalaya chain. They set out on the 26th of May, at which time the wheat was ready to cut, the lands were under the plough, and the *amaranthus Gangeticus*, much used as an esculent vegetable by the mountaineers, was sowing. The natural productions of this mountainous region were two species of pine, (*deodar* and *longifolia*) one of which, called by Mr. Moorcroft a cedar, measured twenty-two feet in circumference at six feet from the ground; and he saw many others which he thought large enough for main-masts to first-rate men of war. Nearer to the Snowy Mountains were extensive forests of oaks, mixed with walnuts and horse-chesnuts, the *sisoo* (*dalbergia*) and the hazel, 'or something like it.' Of smaller plants, he

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he found abundance of birch, berberry, raspberry, bilberry, gooseberry, wild roses, furze [?] and wormwood; he noticed also the polyanthus, anemone, and ranunculus, two kinds of rhubarb, the common and lemon thyme, basil, mint, sedum, and a plant not unlike butcher's-broom, called selbarua, which, he was told, was employed to make paper, and used by the bankers of Hindostan in preference to any other for their bills of exchange, as the ink does not run. The cultivated plants were wheat, barley, rice of two or three kinds, several species of millet, of which the *chena* (*panicum italicum*) occupies whole fields, and the *cynosurus coracanus*.

In none of the clusters of hills to the southward of the Himalaya, was there any appearance of volcanic products; but many of them abounded with minerals, and pyrites were sufficiently common. Blocks of marble and masses of granite, large crops of quartz crystals, and veins of silver, he says, appeared on one of the mountains. At Tapobán and the neighbourhood were copious warm springs.

Near the village of Malari beds of frozen snow first appear in the ravines; these, as well as the deep beds of mountain-torrents, are crossed by *sankhos* or *sanghas* (fir-spars), which occur twenty times in the course of a day's journey. The inhabitants call themselves Rajputs, but pay little attention to caste: poverty, in fact, seems to have subdued all pride of distinction. The lower classes devour raw meat with a seasoning of pepper and salt, and are glad to feed on the coarsest vegetables. They are low of stature, and have the Tartar countenance mixed with the Hindoo. Their dress is of woollen cloth woven by the women who, like their neighbours already mentioned, load themselves with ornaments.

The village of Niti, composed of fourteen or sixteen houses, is situated in a valley closed by a hill which, on the 5th of June, was tipped with snow. The great height of this situation is inferred by a quick breathing with which Mr. Moorcroft was seized, and which obliged him frequently to stop, in order that the action of the heart might become less violent. Two or three times after this he mentions the oppression at the heart, and the necessity of stopping at every four or five steps to breathe; and complains of a sense of fulness in the head accompanied by giddiness: near the Niti Ghaut he was seized with difficulty of breathing and great oppression about the heart on awaking from sleep, and 'when on the point of falling asleep again, the sense of suffocation came on, and the sighing became very frequent and distressing.' Mountains much higher than the spot, on which Mr. Moorcroft stood, have been ascended without any such sensation; and, though M. Saussure complains of symptoms of oppression and debility, when at the height of fourteen or fifteen thousand feet, he attributes it less to the rarity of the atmosphere, than

than to the presence of carbonic acid gas. Mr. Moorcroft, in fact, was unwell.

At Niti they were detained for some time; the *Sehána*, or headman of the village, telling them that a report of their being either Gorkhalis or Firinjis, and of their having hostile designs on the Undés, who dwell behind the Himalaya, made it expedient for him to write to the *deba* or governor, to assure him that they only wished, for pious purposes, to visit the sacred lake of Mansarowar; and that they must wait for the answer. This delay was the less irksome from the *sehána* assuring them that the snow was not yet melted; that the communication was never attempted before *sancrant*, or the entrance of the sun into the next sign, and that this would take place in fifteen days. It was now the 5th of June; and from this time to the 24th, when they proceeded, the thermometer at sunrise was generally about 46° , at noon 72° , and from that to 80° . The nights were clear and serene; but frequent rains took place during the day; the changes in the temperature were sudden and severe. The birch trees and rose bushes were now but breaking into leaf, and the furze coming into blossom; the grain was appearing above ground, and every thing indicated that it was here only the spring of the year; but the vital principle of vegetation is more rapidly brought into action in countries where for a long period it has remained, from extreme cold, in a state of suspension. At Niti the summer consists of July and half of August; the autumn continues to the end of September, and winter commences with October.

Permission to proceed being at length obtained, Mr. Moorcroft and Captain Hearsay, each mounted on a chourr bullock, the yak of Tartary, (*bos grunniens*) proceeded on their journey. At the union of the Dauli with the Hiwangel they took their leave of trees, a few stunted firs, just below the point of confluence, being the last; and on the same day (30th June) they commenced the ascent of the *ghati*, or pass, which separates Hindostan from the Undés, and which was very steep and difficult: their yaks, however, carried them the whole way to the summit, which is stated to be about a mile and three quarters. Here they observed a heap of stones, on which was raised a pole with pieces of rag attached to it. Erections of the same kind were observed by Turner along the boundary of Thibet and Bootan, which they were not only designed to mark, but were considered also as charms against the Dewtas, or evil genii, whose resort is the caves of the mountains; a similar superstition prevailed in the Niti Ghauti pass. A plain now presented itself, thickly strewed with large stones, and bounded on every side by mountains; those behind being covered with snow, without any marks of vegetation, those before equally bare, but without snow. The

account which Mr. Moorcroft gives of this interesting pass of the Himalaya mountains, now trodden for the first time by any European foot, is unfortunately vague and perplexed, and only intelligible by comparing it with that on his return. Nor is his description of the plain to which it leads, much more distinct; with the aid of the map however it may be made out; and the following is pretty nearly the sum of the information gained by this interesting journey.

The Himalaya mountains may be considered as the supporting wall and buttress to the great table land of Thibetian Tartary, to which from their summits there is little descent in comparison with the altitude of their southern faces; and that little is not precipitous, but gradual. The first plain that occurs on passing the Niti Ghaut is bounded to the northward by another ridge of mountains, running about N. W. and S. E. or parallel to the Himalaya, and at the average distance of about forty miles from it; this is called the Caillas ridge. At the south-eastern extremity of this plain, and at the distance of about eighty miles from the pass, hemmed in between the two ridges above-mentioned which here approximate, are the two lakes of *Rawan-Hrad* and *Manasarowar*, separated only by a slip of land about four or five miles in width, the former lying to the westward of the latter.

Mr. Moorcroft calls the inhabitants of this table land, behind the Himalaya mountains, by the name of the Undés; they must however be the same people, or join upon them to the westward, whom Mr. Elphinstone has described under the name of *Caufirs*, or *Unbelievers*; they certainly fall under that description, if *Budhists* are so considered by the followers of *Brahma*; for their religion is that of the *Lama*. But in Mr. Moorcroft's description of them we look in vain for any thing *Grecian*, either in their antiquities or customs, (some resemblance to which was supposed to exist among the *Caufirs*,) excepting indeed the *Wazir's* agate box in the shape of an urn, surmounted at each shoulder by the mask of a satyr, and which, he says, appeared to him 'an antique of *Grecian* workmanship.'

The part of this table land included by the Himalaya and the Caillas ranges might almost be considered as the depressed summit of the mountains themselves, declining gradually from each chain towards the centre, in a rugged and broken surface, bristled in some places with rude rocks, and in others scooped out into broad and deep ravines, presenting, as far as the eye could reach, a dreary waste, without a tree or shrub to enliven the prospect; the only symptoms of vegetation being confined to some low furze bushes, (not *furze* we will venture to say, if by that be meant the *ulex Europea*,) 'a woolly plant like everlasting,' tufts of silky grass, and a species

species of moss, exhibiting a sickly green among patches of snow and splashes of snow-water. No insects appeared, except a few butterflies, which the heat of the mid-day sun had called forth; no reptile but a small lizard; and, with the exception of a few eagles and ravens, larks, linnets and partridges were the only birds. Near the banks of a considerable stream, however, which flows to the westward along the middle and lowest part of the table land, the scene was somewhat enlivened, and Mr. Moorcroft was not a little delighted by the appearance of 'two very beautiful poplar trees, in which were many goldfinches.' He observed too in the bed of this river several flowering shrubs, from three inches to eight feet in height, which he took to be a species of tamarisk. Yet these cold, rugged, and barren plains were swarming with sheep and goats, the yak or Tartarian cow, the shawl-wool goat, herds of wild horses and wild asses, and hares and marmots. 'The bite of the yak,' we are told, 'is quicker and nearer the ground than that of any other species of neat cattle;' and so it had need to be, in such a country; but how the others contrive to exist we cannot well imagine, unless they migrate in winter to a more genial climate; or some other vegetable clothing of the plain, besides that which he mentions, has escaped Mr. Moorcroft's observation. Such prodigious bodies of sheep, goats, yaks, and horses could not possibly exist on a few tufts of grass and bushes of *furze*—or whatever else it might be—the number at which he estimates a single group being not less than forty thousand! Like all animals which frequent cold climates, or those that are subject to frequent and rapid changes of temperature, the quadrupeds of Little Thibet are indebted to nature, who has kindly compensated the want of food, by liberally supplying them with warm clothing.

'The sheep has a very thick and heavy fleece; the goat has at the root of his long shaggy hair a very fine fur interspersed generally; the cow has a material of the same kind, not much inferior in warmth and softness, which I apprehend might prove a substitute for beaver; the hare has her fur of peculiar length and thickness, and even the dog has a coat of fur added to his usual covering of hair. The wild horse (*equus quagga*), the wild ass (*Goorkhen*, *onagre*), and, I believe, the mule, the offspring of these animals, are found in abundance in the mountains of Tartary; but whether they have any thing of the fur kind I cannot say; but that animal which is called the *baral*, and which seems to have many characters of resemblance to the deer as well as to the sheep, has certainly at the bottom of the brittle hair of the former, the most beautiful brown fur I ever saw.'—(vol. xii. p. 457.)

Mr. Moorcroft is certainly mistaken with regard to the *quagga*, which is exclusively African; what he saw was the *equus caballus*, which is found in a state of nature in almost every part of Tartary: the *mule*, Mr. Colebrooke says, is the *equus hemionus*, which much resembles it; and he asks, if the *baral* be not the *ovis Ammon*?

Undoubtedly

Undoubtedly it is the animal described under this name in the *Systema Naturæ*, and under that of argali by Pallas. Mr. Moorcroft's language is rather vague, but it must either be this species of sheep, which varies considerably in different parts of the world, or an undescribed animal: 'were it not fanciful,' he says, 'to suppose a chain in the works of nature, I should say that this creature was the link between the deer and the sheep.' He mentions the horns as of an enormous size, and weighing at least fifty or sixty pounds. The argali is described by Pallas as having horns of thirty pounds weight; and Father Rubruquis observes, that he had seen some of them so large that he could hardly lift a pair with one hand; and that the Tartars made great drinking cups of them. Dr. Shaw says, that 'a modern traveller has asserted that young foxes occasionally shelter themselves in such as are here and there found in the deserts.'

The goats which produce the wool from which the beautiful Cashmerian shawls are made, every where abound on the dreary plains of Upper Asia; they are nothing more than a variety of the common goat, on which the climate seems to have had the same kind of influence as that of Shetland on the common sheep. Mr. Hastings sent a couple to England, and the East India Company have some still alive of those which were brought away by Mr. Moorcroft. The fine wool or down is the coat next the skin, and is concealed by an outer coat of long straggling hair. Mr. Moorcroft learned that the Tartars of Ladack had a monopoly of all the wool produced in the district behind the Himalaya, and that they sent it, in exchange for other goods, to be manufactured into shawls by the Cashmerians.

The granite hills near the river above mentioned, chiefly of a reddish hue with veins of quartz, contain gold, which the collectors of it separate by washing. Shallow pits are made by those who dig for it, and in some places our travellers observed caves hollowed out of the rock. The materials containing the gold are carried to the river, and there washed. But the objects which our author considers as the most 'extraordinary phenomena he ever witnessed,' are the hot springs of Tirtápuri, which we shall describe in his own words—

'From two mouths, about six inches in diameter, issue two streams, bubbling about four inches higher than the level of the stony substance whence they escape. The water is very clear, and so hot, that the hand cannot bear to be put into it for an instant; and a large volume of smook curls round them constantly. They burst forth from a table of calcareous stone nearly half a mile diameter, and raised in most places ten or twelve feet above the plain on which it stands. This has been formed by the deposit from the water of the springs while cooling. Immediately surrounding the springs, the stone is as white as the purest stucco.

stucco. The water flowing over a surface nearly horizontal, as it escapes from the vents, forms shallow basins of different size and shape. The edges of all these basins are curiously marked with indentations and projections, like the tops of mushrooms and fleurs-de-lis, formed by calcareous matter prevented from uniting in one uniform line by the continual but gentle undulation of the water entering into and escaping from the several basins which are emptied by small and successive falls into the surrounding plain. By degrees, however, the fringed edge becomes solid, and contracting the basin, of which the hollow fills likewise, the water takes a new course and makes new reservoirs which in their turn become solid. Although the water appear perfectly transparent, the calcareous earth, which it deposits, is of different colours; in the first instance, near the mouth, it is delicately white without a stain; at a little distance it assumes a pale straw tint; and further on, a deep saffron hue; in a second the deposit has a rosy hue, which, as it recedes from the source, becomes of a deep red. These various colours are deposited in the strata, which hardening, retain the tinges they received when soft; and give rise to variously stratified and veined stone and marble. The whirls, twists, knots, and waves, which some of the fractured edges exhibit, are whimsically curious, and shew all the changes which the stony matter undergoes, from soft tufa to hard marble; I observed that the marble is generally formed in the middle of the depth of the mass, rising up with nearly a perpendicular front of the height before-mentioned: the table must have been the work of ages. The calcareous matter, which is so largely dissolved and suspended by the water whilst hot, is probably furnished by the chalky mountains above *Tirtápuri*, but the origin of the heat I have no clue to discover. The water must be most strangely situated, for two streams so inconsiderable to throw down such a prodigious quantity of earth; and the surface where quiet is also covered with a thin crust of semi-transparent matter like that which rises on super-saturated lime-water.' —pp. 459, 460.

We are told indeed, that the whole of the country, from *Tirtápuri* to *Kien-lung* on the central river, abounds with minerals, and that the rocks teem with springs of hot water, impregnated with various mineral and saline substances. Among other springs of this kind a cavern is mentioned 'into which drips water highly charged with sulphuric acid.' Hot sulphureous vapours are said to issue from the bottom or floor, and a person on entering is immediately thrown into a perspiration, without being incommoded as long as he stands upright, but if he crouch down he is seized with coughing and a sense of suffocation, which, we are told, 'occurs likewise in the grotto *dei cani*, and arises merely from the specific gravity of the sulphureous gas being greater than that of the atmospheric air.' The carbonic acid gas of the grotto *dei cani* occasions rather more than 'coughing and a sense of suffocation.' Mr. Moorcroft thinks that if fuel were plentiful many hundred tons of sulphur might be obtained from this cavern; and he has also discovered that 'the vast walls

walls and recesses of rock which have been formed by the action of hot springs in this neighbourhood, shew an antiquity that baffles research, and would afford food for sceptics.' Thus it is that 'a little learning' becomes 'a dangerous thing.' Had Mr. Moorcroft known nothing (and he does not seem to know much) of geology, or known more, his own faith would not have been staggered, nor would he have discovered any 'food for sceptics.'

In his way to the town of Daba Mr. Moorcroft observed that the Thibetian Tartars were acquainted with the art of making black-puddings. This town is situated at the distance of about sixteen miles to the northward of the Niti Ghati pass, and is perched on the top of a rock near the river Tilti; 'its situation, construction, and appearance being unlike,' says Mr. Moorcroft, 'any thing which I had ever seen before.' The houses are of stone, two stories high, whitewashed on the outside below, with a band of red and French grey above, and having terraced roofs surrounded by a parapet. The tops of the walls are decorated with party coloured rags tied to strings. The inside of the house is very filthy; and the small court yards are strewn with bones of sheep and goats, and fragments of hair and wool. The sides of the ravine are full of caverns, some of which serve as habitations, and others as store rooms, in which the inhabitants deposit their property when in winter they seek a milder climate, Daba being merely a summer residence.

At this town they met with three important personages, the Lama, the Wazir, and the Deba,—the high priest, the civil governor, and the zemindar. The town was also divided into three parts; a college, the residence of the lama and his *gelums*, or monks; a nunnery; and the houses of the wazir, the deba, and the people. In the centre were the temples of the lama, in form and construction not unlike Chinese pagodas; indeed the whole of Mr. Moorcroft's description of the temple, of the gigantic and grotesque images, of the dresses of the priests, the ceremonies of chanting, counting beads, and other mummeries, completely identifies the religion of the lama with that of Fo of China; as does his account of the 'paraphernalia,'—in which he found 'a very striking resemblance to those of the Romish church.' It would seem, however, that even here the priests do not entirely lose sight of worldly affairs, but that they dabble a little in the way of trade, or, in vulgar language, smuggling; for, in the midst of their devotion, one of them slyly produced some coils of shawl wool, for which a bargain was instantly struck with their new visitors. These *gelums*, or monks, appeared to our traveller to be a happy, good-humoured set of people, dirty, indeed, and greasy, but in good case: they trade *openly* in sheep's wool and salt, which they usually exchange for wheat and barley.

'I observed,'

'I observed,' says Mr. Moorcroft, 'that the priesthood and the immediate officers of government are in easy circumstances, as also are the goatherds; but the rest of the population are plunged in the most abject poverty and literally clothed in rags.' The old lama, however, is represented as 'a real and edifying picture of humility.' He was much pleased with the attention of the strangers, 'and putting out his hand to take hold of my friend's white gown said, "I pray you let me live in your recollection as white as this cloth." There was something particularly affecting in his manner and utterance, and I could not help bending over his outstretched hand with emotion as I took leave of him.'

The religion of Budh, of the Lama, or of Fo, for they are all from the same stock, seems to be diffused over a greater extent of territory than any other pagan idolatry, than islamism, or even christianity; we find it from the Caspian to the frozen ocean, from the banks of the Volga to Japan. The Gelums of the Himalaya, the Gylungs of Thibet, and the Gallungs of the Calmucs of the steppes between the Don and the Volga, differ as little in their habits and way of life, as in name. It is a heartless religion, in which the people take no concern; there is nothing in it to elevate the soul, to excite the passions, or to aid the powers of imagination. Even the duties of the priests are mere mechanical movements, or 'manual devotions,' set a-going at particular times of the day;—the operations of a machine which might just as well be put in motion by wind, water, or steam, as by the human hand. A cylinder, like a drum, lined with written prayers, is whirled round on its axis; this saves the trouble of repeating them, and is, on the whole, a better device than that of the Jesuit who, by running over the letters of the alphabet, contended, that he repeated all the prayers that were ever composed out of it. Turner mentions these whirligigs in Thibet; they are common in the temples of China, and are met with among the Monguls, the Calmucs, and the Kalkas; and they were exhibited before Mr. Moorcroft, who conceived it to be a necessary ceremony for strangers to go through preparatory to an interview with the Lama. This personage, who is the presiding priest of this singular religion, may be considered as repose personified; the more he can succeed in divesting himself of all the passions and appetites of human nature, the nearer he approaches to a state of absolute perfection, and the closer he is united to the Deity.

The priests, however, of Budh, or Lama, have their processions, their prayers, and their music, mornings and evenings. Mr. Moorcroft attended their recitals, which were generally accompanied with cymbals and the beating of a deep-toned drum; and the performance, he says, was preceded by the blowing of conchs from the top of the temple; why, we know not, as there is no congregational worship,

worship, unless perhaps it be to satisfy the people that their priests are not unmindful of their duty.

The people too have their music. Mr. Moorcroft says, that they were entertained by three Tartar performers from Latak, one of whom played on the hautboy, another on the drum, and the third sang and danced; the airs were very like those of the Scotch, and the tones of the hautboy had a striking resemblance to those of the bagpipe. They first performed an overture not unlike that of Oscar and Malvina, then sang words without music, and so on with instrumental and vocal music in alternate succession.

Having waited at Daba till permission was received from the military governor of Ghertope for their visiting Mansarowar in the character of pilgrims, it was at length signified that this governor wished to see them first at Ghertope. Accordingly they set out for this place of his residence, which lies on the northern side of the Caillas ridge, about forty miles from Daba or fifty-six miles from the Niti Ghati pass. They crossed the Caillas on the 15th and 16th July, the thermometer on the former day at sunrise being 41° , and at the same time, on the latter, 34° ; a hard frost took place in the course of the night. Beds of frozen snow lay in the ravines, and half-melted splashes on various parts of the ground, and snow was falling on the ridge of the mountains. All the streams now ran to the westward. Red stones resembling 'cinnabar of antimony,' interspersed with black shining crystals, appeared on the sides of the ravines. In several places were holes which had been made in search for gold. A prodigious number of hares, somewhat different from the common hare, crossed these elevated plains. A bird resembling the grouse was plentiful, as were also Brahmini geese (*anas casarca*) near the river. Several wild horses were also in sight: they appeared, at a distance, to be about thirteen hands high, the upper part of the neck bay, the back and sides of a fawn or azure colour; their heads thick and short but well carried, their bodies round and short; and their general shape compact and clean; the tail was thinly furnished with hair. These upper regions of Tartary are supposed to have given birth to the horse; they have also been called the cradle of the human race—if it be so, we can only say, that both man and horse have greatly improved their species by descending from their elevated station.

On the 17th our travellers reached Ghertope situated in the midst of a plain extending beyond the reach of sight, on which were innumerable herds of sheep, goats, and yaks. This place was nothing more than an assemblage of tents of black blankets, surrounded by hair ropes fixed to stakes, and surmounted with flags of various coloured shreds of silk and cloth. A sod hut, with a hole on the top to admit the light and let out the smoke, was the habitation

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tion and the hall of audience of the Debá or governor. He sat on a cushion faced with China satin, at the upper part of the apartment, on a raised platform of sods covered with an old carpet: before him stood a tea-table on which was a box of barley meal, a China tea-cup, a spitting pot resembling a leaden tea-cannister, and a small greenish jasper cup, out of which he sipped his tea. 'Superstition,' says Mr. Moorcroft, 'in Eastern countries attaches to jasper cups the property of splitting if poison be put into them; and this trait, at first blush, does not speak in favour of the morality of our Tatar friends.' The Deba was an elderly man, bare headed, and clothed in a greasy yellow damask gown. 'There was a chafing-dish of charcoal on the floor for lighting his pipe, from which 'I suspect him,' says our traveller, 'to be a worshipper of the sun and fire:'—as well might he suspect the Dutch to be worshippers of the sun and fire, for every Dutchman has his chafing-dish and his pipe. His object in sending for the travellers was, in the first place, to receive a present from them, and, in the second, to open a trade, by exchanging shawl wool for such articles as might suit him; observing, at the same time, that such a trade was contraband, and that if the government of Lassa knew he disposed of any wool, except to the Lataki, the loss of his head would be the consequence. Indeed this, we are afraid, has actually happened; for we have just learned that Lieutenant Webb, since their visit, had passed the Himalaya with a view of proceeding to the Lake Manasawara, but was stopped by the Tartar, or rather Chinese, governor of the frontier, who assigned as a reason, that he had received particular orders to let no one pass; and on the precedent of our travellers being urged, he replied, it was very true; but that the deba had in consequence been suspended from his office, and significantly gave them to understand he might also, by that time, be suspended from every other earthly care:—we shall probably, therefore, hear little further of Manasawara. A Cashmerian informed Mr. Moorcroft that the agents of the Ooroos or Russians had of late years brought coral beads, and other marketable articles, by the way of Yarkund, to Latak and Cashmir; the Wakil denied that the Ooroos themselves had ever reached Latak, though the governor of Daba had asserted that kafilas of five or six hundred of them had come on horseback to the fair of Ghertope. There is a regular post from Ghertope to Lassa; each horse goes twenty coss a day, and the journey occupies twenty-two days, so that the road distance may be estimated at nearly nine hundred miles.

The whole of this table land, like that to the southward of the Caillas, appears to be broken into deep ravines, at the bottom of which are streams of water collected from the springs and melted snow descending from this range of mountains. These numerous streams,

streams, uniting in the plain or valley of Ghertope, form a river of very considerable magnitude, which, pursuing a north-westerly course for some hundred miles, is said to pass under Latak, to cross the Hindoo Coosh to the westward of Cashmir, and then to assume the name of Indus or Sind, of which it may be considered the main branch.

Having nothing to detain them at Ghertope, our travellers set out on the 23d to the south-eastward, the valley narrowing till it was closed in by the ramifications of the Caillas mountains. The Indus in the middle was deep and rapid; the air very cold and the contiguous mountains covered with snow. They passed several inscriptions on piles of stone in an unknown character, which, however, it does not appear they had the curiosity to copy: wild horses, yaks, sheep, and goats were still very abundant; and the plains were tolerably well clothed with grass and furze bushes (probably *genista* or *spartium*). Though the nights were frosty the thermometer in the day-time frequently exceeded 80°; and the changes in the temperature, against which the natives defend themselves by vests of cloth or skins, or both, were not only great but very rapid. An officer, at one of the posts near the Caillas, is described as having no less than five of these vests, the outer one of woollen, on the right shoulder of which 'were sewed the saw, adze, chissel, rule, and all the insignia of free masonry, in iron; the symbols of a fraternity of which he said he was a member.'

On approaching the lake of Rawan-hrad vast herds appeared of wild horses, of the Gürkhar or wild ass, yaks and barals; here also they met several merchants with grain, and some tea-merchants, who said they resided two months' journey beyond Mahachin or Pekin. Finally, on the 6th August, they halted on the bank of the lake MANSAROWAR, regarded with such superstitious reverence by the Hindoos, and not the less, perhaps, on account of the difficulties, the danger and the expense of the pilgrimage to its purifying stream. Its sacred character is also acknowledged by the Tatars, and by all the shepherd tribes, who carry the ashes of their deceased relatives to scatter on its waters. Mr. Moorcroft speaks of its having in front terraces of stone 'with the usual inscriptions,' but, as 'usual,' he leaves us completely in the dark concerning the nature of the characters, or their meaning. Captain Hearsay, it seems, cut his own and his companion's name on a stone. We find no fault with this; yet we can scarcely forbear wishing that Captain Hearsay had employed the time in taking copies of those which were already cut. Along the margin of the lake, in lofty situations, were scattered the romantic abodes of lamas and gelums, distinguished by streamers of various coloured cloth and hair, float-
ing

ing from high poles erected on the corners and roofs of the buildings.

Out of the Rawan-Hrad, according to Mr. Moorcroft's map, (for the narrative leaves it doubtful,) proceeds the river which, as already observed, running to the north-westward along the middle of the plain, collects various streams from the northern face of the Himalaya and the southern face of the Caillas. The main stream, thus formed, is the Setli^j or Satudrá, the first or easternmost of the Punjab or five rivers, (and the western boundary of our Indian empire,) whose united streams form the Indus. The Setli^j, we believe, has never been followed from its source in the Rawan-Hrad downwards into Hindostan, nor traced from that lake upwards into Tartary; but, if the information of Mr. Moorcroft be correct, it must pass through the Himalaya range near mount Kantel on the eastern side of Cashmir, as the Indus does through the Hindoo Coosh to the westward of that celebrated valley. With regard to Manasarowar, Mr. Moorcroft appears to think that it has no outlet whatever; and he is quite positive that it has none on the northern, western, or southern shores. He walked himself (he says) the whole way from the northern shore along the western side, to examine if there were any communication with the Rawan-Hrad, but found none; and he sent two men the following day to examine the southern side, who reported that three streams fell *into* it from the northern face of the Himalaya, but that none ran *out* of it. The pundit however was equally positive that the first branch of the Setli^j issued from its western corner; that he had seen it and crossed it on sankhas sixteen years before; and that he could bring the evidence of all the inhabitants of the neighbourhood to support the truth of his assertion: a Lataki traveller also maintained that, eight years ago, the stream actually existed; and, if not now to be found, must have been dried up since that period:—'perhaps,' says Mr. Moorcroft, 'an earthquake may have been the agent in this effect.' We should not be surprised if, after all, both the Lataki and the pundit were correct as to the existence of the stream, though they may have mistaken the point of its issue; perhaps the Gogra branch of the Ganges may have its source in the Manasarowar, in which case the Setli^j no doubt flows out of the Rawan-Hrad.

As no European had hitherto visited the sacred lake of Manasarowar, and as Hindoo geographers have derived the Ganges, the Satudrá, and the Gogra from it, 'I was anxious,' says Mr. Moorcroft, 'to ascertain whether it really gave rise to the two last mentioned rivers or not.'—If this was his only object, he might have spared himself the trouble; *both* could not flow out of the same lake in different directions. Tiefentaller, the Jesuit, however, and Turner after him, describe two rivers flowing out of the Manasa-

rowar, one to the westward and the other to the eastward, leaving us thus between the improbable and the impossible. The information which Doctor Buchanan obtained in Nepal, places the source of the Gogra in a small lake *near* to Manasarowar. If we could suppose that Mr. Moorcroft had inverted the positions of the two lakes, it would be more easy to reconcile the contradictory accounts; and Tiefentaller would then be right in supposing the western branch to be the Setli. Major Rennell, misled by the report of the lamas sent by Kang-hé to discover the sources of the Ganges, very naturally concluded that this western branch was the parent stream of that river, which, passing through Hemachal, (or the Snowy Mountains,) showed itself at the Cow's-mouth, and formed the Bhagirath'hi branch of this celebrated river: and so certain was he of the correctness of this conclusion, that he adds, 'it may truly be said that the knowledge of the origin of the Ganges was reserved for the present age;' which, at least, is so far correct that this excellent geographer has lived to witness the fulfilment of the assertion. As Mr. Moorcroft saw no part of the eastern shore of the easternmost lake (whether that lake be Rawan-Hrad or Manasarowar) except through his 'perspective glass,' and as, by his map, it is seven or eight miles in width, we have little doubt of its having an outlet on that side, (if it be true that it is not connected with Rawan-Hrad,) and of its giving rise either to the Gogra, or to the San-po, which is the main branch of the Bramapootra. In either case the *peninsula* of India is a more appropriate name than at first sight it appears to be, the sources of the two great branches of the Ganges and the Indus being within four or five miles of each other. The narrow ridge of land which divides the two lakes would then form the highest level of the stony plain in the direction of east and west; which is not far from the position assigned to it by the lamas.

It would be difficult to explain why Mr. Moorcroft should suppose the lowest ebb of the lake to be in the month of August: we should have thought it then at the highest flood, as it is chiefly fed from the melting of the snows of the Caillas on one side, and the Himalaya on the other: the highest water-mark, however, which he could discover above the present line, did not exceed four feet; a circumstance, we should have thought, sufficient to shake the opinion which he had formed of there being no outlet to the lake, especially after he had ascertained that streams of water were pouring into it on the north and the south from the Himalaya and the Caillas. If the water had no outlet, though it might be 'clear,' it could not have been 'well tasted.' We can only excuse him for not ascertaining this important fact, from 'growing indisposition and the rapid approach of winter. Mr. Moorcroft observed on the margin of the water

water a great number of the skeletons of yaks, the heads of which, in almost every instance, were covered with the skin, to which the hair adhered, though all the other bones were bare and bleached. The only plausible reason which he could assign, and which is probably the true one, for this multitude of carcasses was that, 'in the severe season, the space between the banks and the water is filled by drifts of snow, and that the yaks, going towards the lake, fall into them, and are suffocated.'

On the 10th August, the thermometer fell in the morning to 32° , and the tents were covered two inches thick with snow; the travellers deemed it therefore prudent to make the best of their way to the Niti pass, lest a continuance of the weather should fill that and the other passes of the Hemachal with snow, and shut them out from Hindostan. On their way they met with many Gelum families of Tatar shepherds, who had been carrying to Mansarowar the ashes of their deceased relations; and, just as they entered Daba, the moon became eclipsed, on which occasion they were greeted with the sound of trumpets, and the beating of drums and gongs from the temple of Narayan; the ceremony being precisely the same as that which is practised in the temples, and even in the palace of the Emperor of China. It was a total eclipse; but 'the obscurity,' says Mr. Moorcroft, 'was much less dense than I ever before observed it.' Is this fancy?—or are we to suppose that the rarity of the atmosphere in these elevated regions extenuated the earth's shadow, and gave it an unusual degree of clearness and transparency?

On the 28th August, they approached the Niti pass; it was a hard frost, the thermometer stood in the morning at 28° , and the ice was two inches and a half thick: the wind was piercingly cold, and continued so till they reached the bottom of the pass on the side of Hindostan:—and here we must leave the travellers, in the midst of a shower of snow, with the thermometer at 37° , congratulating themselves that they had not delayed the passage till the succeeding day. We cannot, however, take leave of Mr. Moorcroft without expressing our regret at the little information with which he has favoured us respecting the manners, condition, and character of the mountaineers. They seem to be a poor and a harmless people, with little other employment than that of tending their flocks. The priesthood, we suspect, are of a different stock from the shepherds and goatherds. Mr. Manning, we understand, found the common people of Thibet, like the Affghans, strongly marked with the Jewish features, totally distinct from those of the Tatars, the Chinese, or the Hindoos; and, in fact, they have a tradition among them of having first come thither from the west. Turner indeed says that Benares was the place to which they pointed for all their

learning; but he drew his information from the Gylungs, and not the original Thibetians; and the written character, of which he gives a specimen, is evidently a derivation from the Devanagari; but the real Thibetians have an ancient character altogether different, which few, if any, of the people now understand. It was this character probably which Captain Raper and his party found on the Trident, and which Mr. Moorcroft saw on the rocks.

We have frequently had occasion to lament that our Indian expeditions are so generally deficient in the department of natural history, which is next in importance to geography, and ought closely to follow its footsteps; for what can we know of a country, if we are ignorant of its produce? Where so many excel in talent of various kinds, it appears strange, that so few should be found to apply themselves to this branch of human knowledge, at once so entertaining and so useful. Lord Wellesley, in the establishment of the college at Fort William, had provided for this department; but the Directors abolished it in India, and have, we believe, omitted it altogether in their own College at Hertford; which is the more extraordinary as they have established a museum of natural curiosities in Leadenhall-street. We would strongly recommend that each resident should have on his establishment a young writer, whose sole occupation should be the study of geology, mineralogy, and botany in the first instance; to be ready to accompany any mission, civil or military, in the capacity of naturalist. Were this the case, we should soon be acquainted with all the productions of Hindostan and the neighbouring countries.

Though neither Mr. Moorcroft nor Captain Hearsay appears to know any thing of natural history, very great praise is due to them for the bold enterprize and personal hazard of first opening a way into the vast regions beyond the Himalaya; by this journey and the mission of Mr. Elphinstone we now know pretty nearly the sources and the direction of the great rivers; and are almost as well acquainted as Ptolemy was, with the position and ramification of the ranges of the mountains of central Asia*—the rest will follow. In the mean time we are also approximating towards the determination of another point of very considerable importance to science, 'the height of the Himalaya Mountains.' To Mr. Colebrooke we are indebted for a most curious paper on this subject, in the last volume of the Asiatic Transactions.

The Imaus and the Emodus were well known to the ancients to be perpetually clothed in snow, but they had not the most distant

* In a paper on this subject in the Philosophical Transactions of Edinburgh, Mr. Murray has very ably and very satisfactorily rescued Ptolemy from the imputation of ignorance in so far as his geographical knowledge of the mountainous ranges of central Asia is concerned.

idea of their height. The Hindoos are equally ignorant of their elevation, which it does not appear their mathematical knowledge enabled them even to guess at; but their great height was presumed from their being frequently seen by those who lived on the plains of Bengal, at the distance, according to Major Rennell, of 150 miles. Mr. Colebrooke, in his introductory observations to Captain Raper's Narrative, says, 'without supposing the Himalaya to exceed the Andes, there is still room to argue, that an extensive range of mountains which rears high above the line of perpetual snow, in an almost tropical latitude, an uninterrupted chain of lofty peaks, is neither surpassed nor rivalled by any other chain of mountains *but* the Cordilleras of the Andes.' Since that time, further observations taken by Lieutenant Webb, and compared with the previous ones by Colonel Colebrooke and Colonel Crawford, afford, he thinks, sufficient evidence to 'authorise an unreserved declaration of the opinion, that the Himalaya is the loftiest range of Alpine mountains which has yet been noticed, its most elevated peaks *greatly exceeding* the highest of the Andes.' With unfeigned respect for the talent and erudition of Mr. Colebrooke, whose name is a host in Oriental literature, we cannot help thinking that he has come to this conclusion rather hastily. We have not one word to offer against his calculations nor his formula: we have such an opinion of his accuracy, that we are willing to take the results on trust. All we mean to protest against, is the insufficiency of his facts to authorize the conclusion which he has drawn from them. We all know that mathematical calculations are so rigidly severe that certain determinate data must give certain results, and that any error in the data must produce a corresponding error in the result. That Mr. Colebrooke's data are incorrect we shall soon see; and that he himself thinks so may be inferred from the conclusions which he wishes us to draw from other sources than strict calculation: he tells us, for instance, (what was scarcely necessary,) that the *fact* of these mountains being seen at the distance of 150 miles 'demonstrates great elevation;' and in order to enable us to form a more correct judgment of its amount, he observes that the Peak of Teneriffe, which is 12,000 feet high, is visible at the distance of 120 miles, and Chimborazo, more than 20,000 feet high, at the distance of 180 miles; the inference from which is, that the height of the Himalaya must be greater than the Peak of Teneriffe, and less than that of Chimborazo. The peak of Chamalári, which Captain Turner and Mr. Saunders passed in their way to Thibet, is next instanced: both these travellers, we are told, were satisfied, the one from the remarkable form of the peak, the other from the height and bearings of the range, that the mountains, which they then viewed, were the same which are seen

from Purnea, Rajmahl, and other places in Bengal. 'According to the survey of Captain Turner's route,' Mr. Colebrooke says, 'Chamalári is placed in latitude $28^{\circ} 5'$, longitude $89^{\circ} 18'$, a position no less than 165 geographic miles from Purnea, and 200 from Rajmahl; that is, 191 British miles from the former, and 232 from the latter; so that Chamalári must be nearly 30,000 feet high! It may be so; though we must beg leave to remain sceptics till better proof be adduced than is here advanced. In the first place, as both distances depend entirely on the position of Chamalári, it would have been more satisfactory if Mr. Colebrooke had stated in what manner Captain Turner obtained the latitude and longitude of this peak; and how the *survey of his route* was made; whether by guess, or by time, or by the strides of a pundit. Distances are very apt to be overrated in traversing the zig-zag paths of craggy mountains, descending the precipitous declivities of deep ravines, following the tortuous windings of a river, or tracing the rocky bed of a dry water-course; and we suspect that both latitude and longitude as well as distance, in the present case, are the results of a crude estimation. It is true, as Mr. Colebrooke observes, that 'it requires an elevation exceeding 28,000 feet to be barely discernible, in the mean state of the atmosphere, at so great a distance as the last mentioned, (232 miles,) though a much less elevation, it must be acknowledged, may suffice under circumstances of extraordinary refraction:'—but it requires something more, we apprehend—a pair of extraordinary good eyes, sharper than even those of the Arabs of the desert. Captain Turner's notion of this peak is not calculated to convey an impression of any very remarkable elevation. 'The snow,' he says, 'continues on some of them (the mountains) during all seasons of the year;' and Chamalári is stated to be the most conspicuous—not so much for its height as its figure, and its being an object of Indian adoration; for he passed it within three miles, and yet 'it did not appear lofty from the level of the plain.' In fact it was never, till very recently, thought to exceed 12,000 feet, which, in this cold and elevated country, is considerably above the lower term of perpetual congelation, and which, after making due allowance for terrestrial refraction, in the ordinary state of the atmosphere, of about one-tenth of the intercepted arc, would, according to Maskelyne's rule, render it visible at the distance of 150 miles.

The presumption of the great altitude of the Himalaya range, Mr. Colebrooke however apprehends, was corroborated by observations which he had himself the opportunity of making twenty years ago. These observations 'gave $1^{\circ} 1'$ for the usual altitude of a conspicuous peak of the Himalaya viewed from a station in Bengal, which, according to the construction of Rennell's map, was not less

than

than 130 geographic miles distant. 'If (continues Mr. Colebrooke) this distance might be relied on, the height to be inferred from these observations, after a due allowance for terrestrial refraction, would considerably exceed that of Chimborazo, being not less than 26,000 feet above the level of the plains of North Bengal.' We are perfectly sure that Mr. Colebrooke is too good a natural philosopher and mathematician to think of 'confidently grounding a calculation of this nicety' on a problem stated in such loose and general terms.

The next evidence on which is grounded the presumption of the great height of these mountains, is that of Doctor Francis Buchanan and Lieutenant-Colonel Crawford, who both visited Nepal in 1802, 'and who were convinced, by the information received there from intelligent persons, that the sources of the Ganges are on the southern face of the Himalaya, and that these mountains are of vast height.' The information of their own senses was surely sufficient to convince them of this:—but Colonel Crawford afterwards made a survey along the northern frontier, and took altitudes 'from which the height of the mountains might be computed, and which gave, after due allowance for refraction, the elevation of conspicuous peaks at least equal to that above mentioned. But the drawings and journal of this survey have been unfortunately lost.' This does not forward us much in the inquiry, and we are satisfied that Mr. Colebrooke never meant it should be deemed so to do.

The next evidence produced comes somewhat nearer the point. It is the result of two observations taken by the late Colonel Colebrooke; one at Pilibhit, the other at Jet'hpúr; the distance between them, we are told, was measured, but it is not related in what manner the measure was taken, or to what it amounted: by means of it, however, and the bearings of a certain peak in the Himalaya, the distance of the said peak from the former was calculated at 114, and at the latter, at 90 English miles; the angle of altitude at the first being $1^{\circ} 27'$, and at the second $2^{\circ} 8'$. From these data the height of the peak, allowing for refraction at the same rate as for celestial objects of the same apparent altitudes, came out to be 20,308 feet; but by allowing $\frac{1}{11}$ of the intercepted arc for terrestrial refraction, the result showed a height approaching to 22,000 feet, or, with the allowance of $\frac{1}{11}$, 22,291 above the plains of Rohilkhund, or about 22,800 feet above the level of the sea:—More of this hereafter; but in the mean time we may observe, that the result of an angle of $1^{\circ} 27'$ taken at a *calculated* distance of 114 miles is of very little value; nor is that arising from an angle of $2^{\circ} 8'$ at an uncertain distance of 90 miles, much better.

We now come to the two observations made by Lieutenant

Webb, and reported by Captain Raper, of the peak of Jamautri, or, as Mr. Colebrooke calls it, Jamunáwatári. The altitude of this peak was 'measured from the summit of Nágúnghati, near Laluri, under an angle of $3^{\circ} 17'$, and from that of Chandra-badani, under one of $2^{\circ} 50'$. The position of the mountain, deduced from horizontal angles taken at both stations, is fixed by Mr. Webb in latitude $31^{\circ} 23'$, longitude $78^{\circ} 31'$. The latitude of the stations determined by astronomical observations, *made at the next places of encampment*, is $30^{\circ} 32'$, and $30^{\circ} 20'$; and the distances, *taking the longitudes as inferred from survey*, are 54.2 and 63.2 geographical miles respectively; from all which, allowing for refraction, 'the elevation of Jamunáwatári appears to be not less than 25,000 feet above the valley.' Mr. Colebrooke observes that this result is *not certainly to be relied on*; and well he may; for there is no agreement either in latitude, longitude, distances, or bearings as given in Lieutenant Webb's, or Captain Raper's Narrative: nor, indeed, does it appear, from that narrative, that any altitude of the peak of Jamunáwatári was observed from Chandra-badani, though the bearing was taken, which neither agrees with that taken two days before near Dhunga, nor with the chart; as between Dhunga and Chandra-badani the meridional distance is no more than two miles, yet an object at the distance of about sixty miles is stated to bear from the former N. $70^{\circ} 40'$ E. and from the latter N. $5^{\circ} 6'$ W. which is impossible. It is necessary to notice these discrepancies, as minute angles taken at great distances involve differences in the results of several thousand feet.

Hitherto the results have been obtained from little better than imperfect or hypothetical data: 'But leaving these conjectures and doubts, let us pass on,' says Mr. Colebrooke, 'to more certain observations and more exact measurements.' These observations consist of angles taken by Colonel Crawford, (when at Cathmandú in 1802,) of several selected points on the chain of mountains, the distances of which he determined by trigonometrical measurement, by bearings taken from various stations in the valley of Nepál, 'the relative situations of which were ascertained by a trigonometrical survey proceeding from a base of 852 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet, carefully measured four times, and verified by another base of 1582 feet measured twice.' As neither the bearings, nor distances, nor triangles of this survey are given, we must take for granted that the results are correct; we cannot but observe, however, that the original base of 852 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet is a very short one, in so rugged and mountainous a country, to ascertain stations, distant from 40 to 70 geographical miles from the objects whose angles of altitude were to be taken. The results are that Dhaibun, seen under an angle of $5^{\circ} 4' 21''$ at the distance of 35 $\frac{1}{2}$ geographical miles, gives 20,140 feet

feet above the spot where the observation was made, which being itself 4,500 above the level of the sea gives to the peak an elevation of 24,640 feet; another peak, from the same spot, comes out to be 22,319; another, under an angle of $2^{\circ} 48' 6''$ at the distance of 59 geographical miles, 24,525 feet high; another, 22,952, and another, whose distance was 68 geographical miles and altitude $2^{\circ} 7' 21''$, gave 23,162 feet above the level of the sea.

But the measurement on which Mr. Colebrooke seems chiefly to rely is that of Dholagir, or Dhawala-giri, (literally the *white mountain*,) a remarkable peak conspicuous among those which are seen from the plains of Górákhpur, whose bearings were taken by Mr. Webb from four stations, and altitudes from three. These three were ascertained with sufficient accuracy, we doubt not, for the general purposes of geography; but whether sufficiently so for the nice calculation of the height of an object seen under an angle of less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ degree and more than 130 miles off, may allow of question. We will, however, admit their accuracy:—Still, it seems scarcely necessary to observe how much the two sides of a triangle which intersect a distant point, are lengthened or shortened by a very small variation of the angles at the two extremities of a short base. Not only is this the case in the present instance, but the angles taken from the meridian require a correction which is not itself ascertainable to a nice degree of accuracy; neither is it probable that the same point of the mountain, changing its form by change of position, can be exactly intersected from the different stations. The result, however, on a mean of the three observations, is 27,677 feet above the plains of Gorak'hpur; and 'reckoning these to be 400 feet above the mouth of the Ganges, as inferible from the descent of the stream of rivers, the whole height, is more than twenty-eight thousand feet above the level of the sea!'

'The following table exhibits a comparison of this result, with other computations made on different rates of refraction.'

Station.	Distances in miles.	Alt. by obs.	Height, allowing for refraction.					
			$\frac{1}{10}$	$\frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{1}{6}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{1}$
A	$89\frac{3}{100}$	$2^{\circ} 48'$	24875	26663	27110	27476	27558	27626
B	$102\frac{43}{100}$	$2^{\circ} 19'$	24348	26716	27308	27792	27900	27991
C	$136\frac{13}{100}$	$1^{\circ} 22'$	21338	25494	26554	27384	27573	27773
Mean			23520	26091	26784	27551	27677	27797
Extreme difference			3537	1222	774	408	342	365
								459

and the mean of the observations calculated according to middle refraction leads to the conclusion that the height of Dhawala-giri, 'the white mountain of the Indian Alps,' is 27,550 feet.

We cannot, however, agree with Mr. Colebrooke that 'the limit
of

of error arising from refraction must be taken at less than 850 feet; it is the ignorance under which we labour with regard to the quantity of refraction, under the peculiar circumstances and relative situations of the places observed, and those at which the observations were made, that must, in our opinion, vitiate the whole calculations. We will venture to say that when the various theories were formed, and tables constructed by English and French mathematicians from Cassini, La Caille, and Halley, down to Maskelyne and Biot, no such case was contemplated as that of observing the altitude of an object at the distance of nearly 140 miles, under an angle of $1^{\circ} 22'$, or of a ray of light passing through a body of the atmosphere varying in temperature and density through the whole of that distance, from 0° of Fahrenheit in all probability, to 80° and upwards. If, on account of the intensity of the cold, the horizontal refraction was found, from observations made at Purnea, in latitude $65^{\circ} 45''$ to be $58'$, it may be doubted if even $\frac{1}{2}$ of the intercepted arc be sufficient to allow for a ray passing out of the frozen atmosphere of the Himalaya; and when it is considered how very subject to sudden variations terrestrial objects are when seen near the horizon, even when close at hand, and in an uniform temperature with the observer, nothing short of a long series of actual observations, taken at different times of the day, and at different seasons of the year, can lead even to an approximation to the truth. It is well known to the people of Dover, Folkestone and Sandgate that, at one time, the houses of Calais, Boulogne and the neighbourhood, are visible to them above the surface of the water, while at other times, when the atmosphere is equally clear, not a vestige of them is to be seen: the Greenland whale fishers also know that the frozen peak of Jan Mayen's island (situated in the S.W. ice) sometimes shows itself high above the horizon, and again disappears, from the same spot, according to the state of the weather and the position of the ice. Mr. Scoresby, an intelligent and experienced navigator in those seas, tells us that 'the *ice-blink* affords to the eye a beautiful and perfect map of the ice, twenty or thirty miles *beyond the limit of direct vision*;' and he adds, that 'the land, on account of its snowy covering, occasions a similar kind of blink.*' It is not surprising therefore that the latitude derived from a low meridional altitude of the sun, taken at midnight in the polar regions, and corrected by the usual tables of refraction, never corresponds, within many minutes, with that which results from a mid-day altitude. Nay, such is the refractive power of the atmosphere when chilled by intense cold, that it has been contended, from the date of the sun's disappearance below the horizon and of

* Transactions of the Wernerian Society, 1815.

his re-appearance above it at Nova Zembla, in latitude 76° , that the horizontal refraction must at that time exceed 4° . Observations are now making in Upper Canada on this interesting subject: and we understand that instances have occurred where it appeared that the terrestrial refraction was equal to full one-half of the intercepted arc.

We cannot think, with Mr. Colebrooke, that the altitude of Mont Blanc taken by De Laic, from Pregny, is a proper 'test of comparison' for his measurements of Dhawala-giri.—An angle of $3^{\circ} 14'$ taken at the distance of 42 or 43 miles is not subject to the same uncertainty with regard to refraction as an angle of $1^{\circ} 28'$ at the distance of 136 miles: besides, a difference exists in the various trigonometrical measurements of Mont Blanc of nearly 500 feet: and if the error of a quarter of a mile in distance produces, as he admits, an uncertainty in the computed elevation, of 180 feet; it requires in our opinion a much less error even than that to which all the observations he notices are obnoxious, to produce ten times that uncertainty in the elevation of the object. It is also admitted, indeed it is matter of calculation, that the error of a minute in an observation of altitude affects the calculation of the height about 200 feet for the most distant station; a small error therefore in the allowance for terrestrial refraction (and in this there always must be an error) may affect the calculation of height by as many thousand feet. If those errors from altitude and distance should happen to be on the same side, the result may be as far from truth in the case of the Himalaya, as it was in that of the peak of Teneriffe, whose height has been reduced from fifteen thousand feet, once assigned to it, to twelve thousand: in short, if the calculations of Mr. Colebrooke should err in the same proportion as those of Dr. Heberden, by cutting off six or seven thousand feet from the height of Dhawala-giri, we shall bring it down to the elevation of Chimborazo. 'But,' says Mr. Colebrooke, 'it would be an extreme supposition, that the errors have, in every instance, been the highest possible, and on the side of excess.' If the instances were numerous, it would be so, as far as distance is concerned; but, strictly speaking, there are but three: with regard to small angles of altitude, they are always more likely to be on the side of excess than otherwise.

Let us, however, endeavour to try the enormous height assigned to Dhawala-giri by another test: the only remaining one in the absence of barometrical observation,—that of meteorological phenomena.

It has been pretty well ascertained, partly from facts and partly from theory, at what elevation above the level of the sea, in different parallels of latitude, snow ceases to melt; or more correctly speaking,

speaking, where it always freezes at night; because the sun will melt snow at a much greater elevation than that of perpetual frost. No general scale, however, can be given, as the situation of the land with regard to its summer temperature, its general elevation, and its distance from the sea, will very materially affect the height of what is usually denominated the 'lower term of perpetual congelation.' Thus the peak of Teneriffe which, though 12,000 feet high, is free from snow at least four months in the year, would, if placed on the continent in the same parallel, have a perpetual cap of snow covering several hundred feet from the summit, while the snow on the sides of Mont Blanc, which never melts at 8,300 feet above the level of the sea, would, if that mountain were placed in the middle of the Atlantic, on the same parallel, disappear in the summer months as high up at least as ten and probably eleven thousand feet. For our purpose, however, Mr. Kirwan's table of the mean height of the lower term of perpetual congelation, will be sufficient. According to this, the point above the sea, at which snow does not melt in the parallel of 30° , is 11,592 feet: now as that part of the Himalaya where Mr. Webb's observations were taken, is rather more; as the distance from the sea is very considerable, and the range surrounded by high mountains on one side, and supported by an elevated table land on the other, which keep the atmosphere in a constant state of refrigeration, we may safely venture to assume 11,000 feet, as an elevation beyond that at which perpetual snow rests on the sides of the Himalaya.

Now it is quite clear from Mr. Moorcroft's narrative, that in crossing the Himalaya, no snow whatever occurred either on the 1st July or the 29th August, and consequently that the summit of the Niti Ghati pass is less than 11,000 feet, as the rise from 'a good grassy plain' on the left bank of the rivulet, which falls into the Dauli, is stated to be no more than 1750 paces, (the pundit's strides, we presume,) but very steep; supposing that to every two feet of slope we allow one of perpendicular ascent, and estimate the grassy plain at 6000 feet, we shall have about 9500 feet for the elevation of the summit of the Niti pass. This is described as half a mile wide, so that there is room enough for the traveller to look round him. If then the cheeks of this pass had risen above it to the height of ten, twelve or fourteen thousand feet, it can hardly be conceived that the observation of objects of such tremendous grandeur and sublimity would not have furnished matter for some remark in the journal—not a syllable, however, is set down, not even a note of admiration!—all we find, is the meagre fact, that on the morning after they had re-crossed the range, 'snow was falling on the adjacent mountains.' An observation, however, subsequently occurs, which is to the purpose. In crossing the table land to the north-

northward, Mr. Moorcroft says, 'on the south, the plain is bounded by the last Himalaya ridge, *just tipped with snow in stripes like foot paths*, extending along the windings of the ridges; on the north by the Caillas mountains, the *summits* of which are *marked more distinctly with snow*.' (p. 420) yet he observes, in another place, that the very highest peak of the Caillas, (the Cailása of the charts,) called by the Hindoos Mahadev'ka-ling, was 'tipped with snow.' When close to these mountains and the Himalaya, where they approach each other near the Mansarowar lake, he speaks of 'vast bodies of snow on the *summits* of the neighbouring mountains,' and notices, in particular, 'the snow-capped neighbour' of the Caillas ridge, 'the Hemachal range.' These are not indications of an altitude of twenty-six or twenty-seven thousand feet. We lay no undue stress on the loose statements of Mr. Moorcroft; but, coupling them with the insignificant height at which Captain Turner states the Chamalári to have appeared above the table land of Thibet, (itself, at the utmost, 8000 feet high,) but which is now swelled to some thousands beyond *twenty* above the level of the sea, we cannot resist the conclusion that the elevation of the Himalaya range has been greatly exaggerated.

There is still another circumstance which may be brought in aid of the argument against the vast elevation assigned to the Himalaya mountains. It was long supposed that the density of the atmosphere was so much diminished at the height of about four miles, that no clouds could be sustained in it; and though Chimborazo, which is nearly four miles, is covered with snow, and consequently must have had clouds floating above it, yet that mountain formed an anomaly which could only be explained by the great mass of high land in the vicinity producing such an intensity of cold, as to give to the surrounding atmosphere a degree of density, sufficient to enable it to support vapour in the state of clouds, which in its ordinary temperature, at the same height, could not be sustained. But the assumed height of the Himalaya is a mile above that of Chimborazo. We believe, however, that experiments are still wanting to ascertain the height to which vapour will rise in the atmosphere, or that, at which it can be sustained in the state of water; and that at present very little is known on this subject. Mr. Dalton, in his Meteorological Essays, says that 'by some careful observations he has found the small white streaks of condensed vapour which appear on the surface of the sky, to be from three to five miles above the earth's surface.' These are unquestionably the lightest shapes in which condensed moisture can appear: and it would follow that if the height of Dhawala-giri peak exceeds that of five miles, there is either no snow on its summit, or that the atmosphere, which surrounds the tops of lofty mountains, must observe

serve a different law from that which embraces the general surface of the earth. Perhaps the phenomenon will admit of being explained by the supposition that the atmosphere round the summits of high mountains deposits its moisture on them, without forming clouds, in the shape of rime; such as we see on the surface of the ground, or the windows of a room, on a clear frosty morning.

That the measurements given as 'near approaches to a correct determination of the height of the Indian Alps,' are generally and greatly exaggerated, we may safely infer from the result of observations made by Lieutenant Webb, *subsequently* to the calculations of Mr. Colebrooke, and communicated to us since we entered on this Article. They embrace the altitudes of twenty-seven different peaks of the snowy chain, determined, as he assures us, trigonometrically, and *proved* by inferring the latitude of Pilibhit, from the position of the peaks as ascertained by survey; which, he says, 'coincided with Mr. Burrow's observations to five seconds of a great circle, or 84 fathoms'—though 'the distance between the Great Mosque in that town, and the nearest point in the snowy range is 98,000 fathoms, or 112 miles'—this will probably be thought to prove too much.—We regret that the want of corresponding names or numbers will not admit of comparing Lieutenant Webb with himself, or rather with the results of Mr. Colebrooke, obtained from his former observations: we shall insert them, however, as records to be hereafter referred to in our Journal, and for general comparison with the results of Mr. Colebrooke's calculations, which are as under:

Dhawala-giri ('on the lowest computation') -	26,862 ft.
Jamunawatari or Jamautri - - - - -	25,500
A mountain supposed to be Dhaibun - - -	24,740
A nameless mountain - - - - -	22,768
Another nameless mountain - - - - -	24,625
Another, near the last, - - - - -	23,262
A third, in its vicinity, - - - - -	23,052

The results of Mr. Webb's observations, taken during his survey of Kamaon, are as follows.

No. of Peak.	Altitude.	No. of Peak.	Altitude.	No. of Peak.	Altitude.
N ^o . 1	22,345	N ^o . 10	15,733	N ^o . 19	22,635
2	22,058	11	20,681	20	20,407
3	22,840	12	23,263	21	19,099
4	21,611	13	22,313	22	19,497
5	19,106	14	25,669	23	22,727
6	22,498	15	22,419	24	22,238
7	22,578	16	17,904	25	22,277
8	23,164	17	19,153	25	21,045
9	21,311	18	21,439	27	20,923

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These altitudes, it will be noticed, are very inferior to those of Mr. Colebrooke. One observation more and we have done. The first nameless mountain of Mr. Colebrooke's list was calculated by Lieutenant Webb at 21,000 feet above the plains of Rohilkhund, or 21,500 above the level of the sea, 'from a mean of numerous altitudes, taken at different times of the day, with an excellent instrument, its distance being previously ascertained by observation, from the well determined extremities of a sufficient base.* We now find it stretched out to 22,768, and all the others seem to have grown in the same proportion. On every consideration, therefore, we conceive that we are borne out in concluding, that the height of the Himalaya mountains has not yet been determined with sufficient accuracy, to assert their superiority over the Cordilleras of the Andes.

ART. VI. *Les Théâtres.* Par un Amateur. Paris. 1817. 8vo. pp. 284.

THE influence of the stage upon the morals and manners of a people is now so generally admitted, that we shall not be guilty either of the common-place of enforcing it, or of the temerity of denying it. We are inclined to believe, however, (as we lately took occasion to observe,) that this influence, as far as it regards England, is a little over-rated—we doubt that the Beggars' Opera ever made an additional highwayman, or that Gay was entitled even to Mr. Courtney's† lively praise of being the *Orpheus* of highwaymen.

We readily admit however the policy of the act of the 10th Geo. II. c. 28. for licensing plays and play-houses; the very nature of the stage justifies this restriction on the general liberty, subject only to our ulterior responsibility, of speaking and writing what we please. Mischief once promulgated on the stage is irremediable—it is addressed to thousands, who on many accounts are peculiarly liable to receive strong and sudden impressions; it is enforced upon them by all the magic of theatrical illusion, by the splendour of poetry, or by the vigour of eloquence; and a libel might be promulgated, a riot created, and characters and lives lost before even a constable at the door could interfere.

If, then, in this sober country, which has been so long accustomed to enjoy its freedom with moderation, it be thought necessary—(and we never have heard, since the passing of the licensing act, a contrary opinion)—to have some previous restriction, we cannot be

* Mr. Colebrooke's *Essays on the Source of the Ganges*, vol. xi.

† Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, vol. ii. p. 374.

surprized that the principle should be carried still farther with respect to our volatile and enthusiastic neighbours. In addition to their natural susceptibility, there are many other causes which contribute to the effect theatrical pieces have on a French audience;—the chief of these is, that, for a long series of years, the French public had no other subject or place on which or in which they could express an opinion. It was so before the Revolution—it was so to a greater degree during the reigns of terror both of Maximilian and of Napoleon. Those who are acquainted with French literature are aware that the proudest title of M. Laya, who has been lately elected to the French Academy, and whose election has so much offended all the *ultra-liberals*, was, that in the wildest fury of the Revolution, he had the courage to bring out a piece called *L'Ami des Loix*, which the audience had the good feeling to applaud;—he escaped the guillotine only by flight and concealment; and he still receives the punishment of his offence—or, as he, we presume, considers it, the reward of his virtues—in the defeated rivalry of M. Benjamin Constant, and the malignity of the united factions of Robespierre and Buonaparte.

In the latter years of the jacobin emperor, the theatres were as much under his own controul as the senate and legislative body. Nothing indeed seems more surprizing than that the spirit of literary discussion—which the imposing splendour of Louis XIV. could not restrain, which the *lettres de cachet* of Louis XV. could not intimidate, which the indulgence and liberality of Louis XVI. permitted to grow to extravagance, which Robespierre could not quite destroy, and which the Directory could not quite enslave—the tremendous terror of Buonaparte's government should for a time extinguish. Always slavish in *politics*, and timidly subservient to the reigning powers, it was then, for the first time, that the audience of a French theatre were terrified into complete literary as well as political subjection. This extraordinary rigour could not last long; it fell together with the great empire, and the theatres of France are once more the scenes, not merely of critical disputes, but of much of that kind of spirit, which, in England, vents itself in Palace-yard meetings, elections, and tavern dinners.

Among such a people it is not surprizing that the regulations of the stage should be a matter of police; but with all our experience on this subject, we confess we were not prepared to find the theatre of France reduced to a system of such official organization and dependence upon the government, as we find in the work which we are about to examine.

The book itself consists of about twenty or thirty pages of introductory matter, loose, affected, and sometimes unintelligible—criticising defects in so silly a style that they can meet no attention

tion, and suggesting improvements so very extravagant that they deserve none. The rest of the volume, above two hundred pages, is occupied with a kind of Statistical Account of the Stage of France, and we believe we may venture to say that—neither of the army, the navy, the church, nor the court; neither of the arts, sciences, agriculture, nor manufactures; neither of the internal nor external policy of the kingdom of France, does there exist so full, so exact, and so organized, an account as this of the play-houses—a curious proof of the genius of the people.

The number of theatres in Paris prior to the revolution was seven; and on these were exhibited—during the early days of that disastrous period—every inflammatory species of representation: the actors, like the authors, were touched by the revolutionary mania; and *costumes à la Grecque*, and *coëffures à la Romaine*, and wigs and daggers *à la Brutus*, effectually turned their heads, and—*natio comada est*—the whole people, stage-players and all, set about performing a grand republican farce, which, in a few months, degenerated into the most dreadful tragedy that ever stained the annals of the world.

Of course, one of the first bridles which they were impatient to throw off was that which restrained the stage. By a decree of the 19th January, 1791, any person who pleased might open a theatre, subject to no other conditions than that of giving notice of his intention to the local authorities, and observing the few directions which the municipal officers were empowered to give. This, as might be expected, soon produced if not overflowing houses, at least an overflowing of houses; and *thirty* theatres were frequently opened in Paris on the same evening. We need not point out to our readers the tremendous effects which so many cheap places of resort for the idle, the profligate, and the violent must have had, at a time when all old principles were unsettled, and all old institutions tottering—when all professions were neglected, and almost all trades at a stand. This state of extreme intoxication and madness continued longer than could have been expected; for, in 1794, we find, by a decree of the Convention, that there were still *twenty* theatres of sufficient consequence to be entitled to receive from the public treasure, the price of four gratuitous representations; and nothing can more clearly shew the absurd importance and inflated style in which it was the fashion to treat theatrical affairs, than a decree of the National Assembly of the 18th October in that year, which enacts—

‘Art. 1. The *theatrical year* shall henceforward be reckoned with the civil year.

‘Art. 2. The Committees of Public Instruction and Finance shall unite together, and propose a scheme for the number, salaries, discipline, &c. of the actors, &c.’

To the first of these grave articles is subjoined a still graver note, to apprise the world that though thus extensive in its terms, the articles, in fact, only applied to the *Opera*, for that in the rest of France the *theatrical year* was to begin as heretofore! At the moment when this admirable regulation was making, his serene highness the prince arch-chancellor of the empire, Duke of Parma, Peter Cambacérès, one of the constellation of great men whom the restoration has obscured, was president of the National Convention. We mention it to the honour of fallen greatness.

In November, 1796, a decree was passed, (and has ever since continued in force,) which enacts that a *décime* on every franc of the price of entrance at all places of public amusement should be collected for the use of the poor—that is, one penny out of every ten.

It is somewhat curious to find this very tax proposed to Mr. Secretary Walsingham, in 1586, by some zealous person, as a trifling compensation for the immorality of stage plays. 'If this mischief must be tolerated, let every stage in London pay a weekly pension to the poor; that *ex hoc malo proveniat aliquod bonum*: but it is rather to be wished that players might be used, as Apollo did his laughing—*semel in anno*.' Extremes meet; and a profligate French government acted on the principle of an over-righteous English puritan.

The following extract of the table of the produce of this duty for the last six years, in which so many extraordinary events have occurred, will serve, as a kind of moral thermometer, to shew to how little vicissitude of feeling the public mind of France is subject—and with what regularity the course of amusement has gone on during the Austrian campaign, the retreat of Mosco, the invasion of France, the overthrow of the empire, the capture of the capital, and the establishment and re-establishment of the king.

	1811	1812	1813	1814	1815	1816
Théâtres — —	fr. 421381	396940	408017	446551	445038	452635
Fêtes Publiques —	.. 16572	16745	9280	13383	15614	10887
Bals — — —	.. 4859	6401	5450	5443	5675	6018
Concerts — —	.. 2707	4170	1994	4763	8021	5922
Soirées Amusantes	.. —	2619	2589	2341	2713	4362
Panoramas — —	.. 4945	3943	2387	3531	4613	2511
Petits Spectacles	.. 2221	2798	2741	2655	3636	8608
Curiosités — —	.. 2710	3877	6397	647Q	6516	6420

Total fr. 455,395 437,503 438,855 485,137 491,826 497,363

From this account, it appears that the year which immediately followed the heaviest calamity that ever befel a nation, the Russian retreat, witnessed but little diminution in the quantity of public amusement and gaiety in France,—the immense influx of strangers in the years 1814 and 1815, made up, we presume, for the absence

of

of the French; but the superiority of the last year over all the former, can only be attributed to the return of the nation to their natural and peaceful enjoyments: and we are glad to observe that in those species of amusements which more especially belong to the people themselves, such as the Bals, Soirées Amusantes and Petits Spectacles, there is a considerable increase beyond any former year.

In 1807, no less than twenty-three theatres existed in Paris,

The Opéra,	Molière,
Théâtre Français,	La Cité,
Feydeau,	Le Théâtre Mareux,
Favart,	Le Théâtre des Muses,
Louvois,	Le Marais,
L'Odéon,	Les Jeunes Elèves,
Vaudeville,	Les Jeunes Artistes,
Porte St. Martin,	Les Troubadours,
Montansier,	Les Jeunes Comédiens,
L'Ambigu,	Le Cirque Olympique,
La Gaîté,	Théâtre Sans Prétentions.
Les Variétés,	

An imperial decree, however, of August 1807, reduced this list to the following:

Opéra,	Vaudeville,
Français,	Variétés,
Feydeau,	L'Ambigu,
L'Odéon,	La Gaîté,

to which were afterwards added, the theatre of the Porte St. Martin and Franconi's Cirque Olympique, and latterly, by the king, the Italian theatre called Favart; so that there are, at present, eleven theatres in Paris, which, with the exception of the Opéra, Odéon* and Favart, are open every night, and more particularly, that is, with greater affluence of company, on Sundays: besides which, there are, we learn from this work, sixty-three shows, spectacles, panoramas or exhibitions.—These are of all kinds and at all prices. M. Bauthin, of the Palais-Royal, does not attempt to deceive you by pompous pretensions—he simply offers, in two words, to gratify two tastes at once, and advertises *café et sauvage*. M. Roussel, of the Rue des Boucheries, equally laconic but less precise, invites you generally to see *Phenomena*; and while several others offer to show a crocodile, or the Simplon, or a vaisseau ambulant, M. Prevost, on the Boulevard du Temple, saves you an infinity of trouble by opening, at one view, the *panorama of the whole universe*. This, to our surprise, is the only panorama mentioned by our author, as now

* We believe that latterly the Odéon plays every night.

existing in Paris: We know of several which have been there, and we may venture to say (without the fear of being taxed with national partiality) that nothing of the kind which we ever saw abroad equalled in execution some of those of our own artists. The public cannot have forgotten the bold and vigorous pencil of Sir Robert Porter; and they have lately had several specimens of the wonderful art of Mr. Barker, which produces almost perfect illusion, and approaches to nature in a way to remind us of Vernet and Vandervelde. Those who recollect the panoramas of Elba and the bay of Naples will, we think, agree with us that, besides the mere mechanical resemblance of the outline, these works displayed qualities which shewed the author to be a man of taste and genius. *Mais revenons à nos moutons.*

All these theatres and various places of amusement are not merely under the general superintendence of the police, but are specially regulated by a code of laws, promulgated successively by the Convention, the Consuls, the Emperor and the King, in which all the details of the scenic kingdom, from the choice of the pieces to be played, down to that of the box-keepers, is minutely provided for.

Abhorrent as this system of petty legislation is to all our feelings as Britons, it must be confessed that it seems to suit the people with whom it has to deal, and that the regulations themselves are sometimes useful. In points, for instance, which concern the safety of the audience, we not only think the interposition of public authority proper—*dignus vindice nodus*—but that the example of the French government, modified as circumstances demanded, might be followed with advantage by ourselves. The regulations for the prevention of fire are very strict.—The stores of dresses, scenery, machinery, and all those combustibles which constitute at once the property and the danger of a play-house, must, by a decree of the 21st March, 1799, be kept in a building completely separated from the theatre. The managers are bound not only to have a sufficient provision of water, fire-pumps, &c. but they are further obliged to have a sufficient guard of public firemen always on duty at their respective houses; and the care of seeing that no danger of fire exists is not entrusted to the managers and their servants alone, but forms a part of the daily duty of the police; and the failure, even for *one single day*, in any of these precautions, forfeits the license.—All the great theatres of London have been burned down in succession since any accident of that kind has happened at Paris.

We cannot speak with equal approbation of the laws which so accurately define and prescribe what kind of pieces each theatre shall play;—for instance, what can be more absurd than to see the sovereign authority descending to such puerilities as the following?

‘1^o. The

'1°. The Opera is especially consecrated to singing and dancing—there only can be represented pieces which are altogether in music and ballets of the noble and graceful kind,—that is to say, such as have been taken from the subjects of mythology and history, and whose principal personages are gods, kings or heroes.

'3°. It may also give, but this concurrently with the other theatres, ballets representing scenes of moral or even of common life.'

Décret du 8 Juin, 1806.

In the same high minded principles of legislation, the great Napoleon also provided that at the '*Vaudeville*,' they might play 'little pieces interspersed with little songs,' and at the '*Variétés*, little pieces, sometimes but not always interspersed with little songs,' but in both cases, the little songs were to be sung to common tunes; (*des airs connus*;) and they were forbidden under severe penalties to sing any tune which had already been sung on the greater stages; which, by the bye, goes on a very probable presumption that the airs sung on those great stages were but *peu connus*.

We need not at once weary and surprize our readers with the infinity of details which are provided by imperial and royal authority for managing the theatrical realm; suffice it to say, that a single decree relative to the Théâtre Français contains ninety-seven articles, and rivals in length and intricacy some of our modern acts of parliament. A short view of the mode in which the Théâtre Français is managed, may, however, be interesting to them.

The supreme controul is under the minister* of the royal household, for the execution of whose orders, and as a channel of communication with the players, there is a commissioner appointed by the government.

The actors form a kind of joint-stock company, and a committee of six are appointed to manage, with the commissioner before mentioned, the interests of the society; but the articles of the decree are so minute in their details, that there is little, except mere personal interests, left to the discretion of this committee; and even on these points the authority of the government commissioner is supreme. The receipts of the house are divided into twenty-four equal parts—one part is set aside for unexpected demands—one-half part is given to the pension or superannuation fund—another half part is assigned to the decorations, scenery, repairs, &c.—The other twenty-two parts are distributed amongst the actors, none receiving more than one part, nor less than one-eighth of a part.

The actors, on entering this society, contract an engagement to

* Of this we are not quite certain. In Buonaparte's time it was under the direction of a minister called Surintendant des Spectacles. Since the king's return we thought these functions had been restored au premier gentilhomme de la chambre; but we see by a decree of the king, 21st November, 1815, that some at least of the theatres are under the minister of the household.

play for twenty years, after which they are entitled to a retiring pension of 4000 francs per ann. about 170*l*. These pensions are payable, half out of an annual allowance of 100,000 francs (about 4200*l*.) made by government to the theatre, and the other half out of funds raised out of the receipts and contributions of the actors.

The number of associates seems indefinite—there are at present on the list, sixteen men and nine women; but there are besides a class of actors, who receive salaries from the society; of these there are now ten men and five women. It is not stated how these stipendiaries are paid, or in what way their salaries are fixed, as compared with the members of the company. They have no *right* to retiring pensions, but the government reserves to itself a power of granting them pensions, which in no case can exceed half their former pay. So that the whole strength of this national company is twenty-six men and fourteen women—a number which would be utterly inadequate not merely to the size of our English theatres, and the magnificence of our spectacles, but in truth to the very nature of our drama. The play at Covent Garden the day we write is *Romeo and Juliet*—in that there are seventeen male and three female performers, absolutely indispensable; but the bill of the entertainments for the evening contains the names of twenty-three other men, and thirty-two other women, (besides soldiers, &c.)—so that there will appear on the stage of Covent Garden this evening, twice as many actors and actresses as form the whole strength of the French national theatre.

This is a source of expense to the English theatres which is not sufficiently considered, when comparisons are made between their prices and those of the French theatres. We know of no French tragedy which has more than eleven characters—several of Shakspeare's have as many as forty, and few, if any, of his plays, have less than fifteen or twenty, exclusive of lords, ladies, soldiers, mob, and all that crowd of attendants with which he delights to fill his scene. If we were to look deeper into this part of the subject, we should find that this difference arises perhaps not more from the *taste*, than from the *powers* of the authors who have given dramatic laws to the two countries. Shakspeare could not have confined his superabundant fertility within such narrow bounds as the equable and elegant Racine—he looked into nature, and not into Aristotle or Bossu, for his rules; and finding that all human actions are brought about by a great variety of agents, each having a distinct character, his plays exhibit *great pictures of real life*, which the mechanical plots and half-dozen formal characters of the French drama are incapable of producing.

We find also in these ^{xiv} dry details of French theatrical regulations,

tions, another circumstance, which shows, very forcibly, the difference between the dramatic writers of the two countries.

All the characters of the French drama are arranged in certain divisions, to which technical names are affixed. The men in comedy are *Jeunes Premiers*—*Pères Nobles*—*Financiers*—*Comiques*—*Utilités*, &c.—while the ladies are either *Jeunes Premières*—*Mères*—*Ingénuités*—*Duegnes* or *Soubrettes*—and all this is so well understood, that each actor and actress is obliged to make a selection of a particular rôle, from which these decrees forbid them afterwards to depart;—they *double* and *triple* one another in their respective classes, but they are not permitted to extragate into another walk. The *Père Noble* cannot become *Comique*, whatever be his vocation this way; and the *Ingénuité* must not look to be the *Jeune Première*, whatever ambition she may feel for playing the heroine—and the 47th and 48th articles of the 1st chapter of the 3d section of the 4th title of the *Moscow decree*, (we quote exactly,) regulate the official modes by which an actor who belongs to one class of characters may be allowed to try his hand at another.

In the English theatre all this foolery would be impossible. We represent not *Jeunes Premières*, nor *Ingénuités*, but *men and women*, with all their various and changeable feelings, humours, and passions—our dramatists know that the gravest man sometimes smiles, and that the gayest is sometimes grave—they know that many of the events of life depend upon sudden shifts of temper, that no two men will be affected in the same way by the same circumstances; nay, that the same *person* is frequently two or three different men with regard to his humour or his passions; and that the human character is equable and unmixed on no spot of the globe except the stage of the *Théâtre Français*; *there* man becomes a puppet, and character is not the growth of nature but of certain learned conventions and regulations: a villain must not be jocose with them, nor a hero witty; and *Hamlet* and *Iago* are unfit for their stage, exactly because they are copied from the theatre of the world: there is much, we admit, on the French stage to be set off against this defect, and there are one or two exceptions; but we shall probably have occasion to consider this topic hereafter, and at present this train of discussion would lead us beyond our purpose. We end it by saying that this rigorous destination of parts is at once a cause, a consequence, and a proof of the feebleness of the French drama.

But it is in the provinces that the system of theatrical organization appears in all its formality. There are, it seems, in the departments, sixteen permanent companies, viz. at Lille, Calais, Rouen, Versailles, Brest, Nantes, Bordeaux (two), Toulouse, Perpignan, Montpellier,

Montpellier, Marseilles, Lyons (two), and Strasbourg (two), which, with the eleven at Paris, make twenty-seven stationary companies; there are, besides, throughout France three hundred and sixty-two other theatres which are (*desservis*) served by twenty-five ambulatory troops; the whole face of the kingdom being divided, for theatrical purposes, into twenty-five *arrondissemens*, through each of which at least one company makes a regular progress at *stated times* in every year; but to fifteen of the *arrondissemens*, which are more extensive than the others and contain important towns, requiring a larger allowance of amusement, there are second companies which also go their rounds, but in a way carefully arranged not to clash with the circuits of the '*premières troupes*.'

The names of *all* the persons who belong to those companies, and their respective rôles, from Talma down to the fiddler in the orchestra, are registered in the volume before us with as much, if not more, precision and detail than those of our Army List: from this it appears that there are in the ten theatres of Paris, (excluding the whole Opera, and excluding also the choruses and dancers,) 160 male and 120 female performers; and that in the provinces (also exclusive of choruses and dancers) there are 518 men and 400 women.

The great Opera, or, as it is pedantically called, the Academy of Music, requires a separate observation or two. It is, and has been ever since its foundation in 1646, a government concern; the receipts have never been equal to the expense of this splendid spectacle, and the government was always obliged to provide for the deficit; towards this there is laid a kind of tax on all the secondary theatres and all the shows and exhibitions of Paris, of one-fifth of the gross receipts of balls, concerts, panoramas, &c. one-tenth at Tivoli, and one-half at all theatres, and other similar establishments. This is evidently a tax raised by the government for its own use, because it diminishes the sum to be paid to the Opera out of the civil list; and the author of the work before us, with more good sense and acuteness than we should have expected from him, asks whether this ought to stand on a mere decree of Buonaparte, and whether it does not legally require a law to sanction its collection?

The company at this theatre consists of ten principal male and eight female singers, with fifty chorus singers; eleven principal male and fifteen female dancers, with fifty-eight figurants of both sexes. The orchestra is composed of twenty-five violins, ten violoncellos, and forty other different instruments, making with their chefs du chant, and *maîtres des ballets*, mechanist, &c. about 250 persons.

This whole system of theatrical organization is so curious a proof of the taste of the people, and of the ubiquity and omnipotence of government

government interference in France, that we have thought the subject not quite so unimportant as it at first sight appears—but we have also been induced to lay it before our readers by another consideration—we hope soon to have an opportunity of taking a view of the literary part of the French theatre; and it occurred to us that this preliminary sketch of the personal and mechanical part of its organization might tend to render our future task more easy to ourselves, and more agreeable to our readers.

ART. VII.—*The Evidence and Authority of the Christian Revelation.* By T. Chalmers, D. D. one of the Ministers of Glasgow. Svo. 1817.

THIS is the work of a reflecting and philosophical mind, on a subject of the utmost importance to the interests of revealed religion in that part of the island where the author resides. That there already exist several most conclusive and satisfactory treatises on the same subject, and of recent date, was no reason for precluding a writer, of inferior talents to Dr. Chalmers, from travelling over the same ground. New works, even when consisting of old arguments, are sure to attract a temporary attention at least; and where the style and course of reading are so different as they are well known to be on the north and south of the Tweed, it is to be feared that the works of Paley, Powell, Hurd, and Jenyns, perhaps even of Addison, on the evidences of Christianity, are little studied in Scotland. It is a well known fact that in one, at least, of the Scottish Universities, and in that, perhaps, which presumes to consider itself as most enlightened, a spirit of unbelief in revealed religion is become unhappily common. Such a disposition, even were Christianity an imposture, is a disgrace to a philosophical age: for it is not even pretended that this conclusion is the result of modest and patient inquiry—of the same process of the understanding, which the same individuals are able and willing to apply to physical and political subjects. It follows therefore, either that Christianity is a superstition so absurd and pernicious as to deserve to be rejected by enlightened minds without investigation, or that the conduct of these persons, even should the whole system turn out at length to be a falsehood, is at once unphilosophical and presumptuous. It consists in what a great master of the subject denominated ‘contempt previous to investigation.’

Why then do not these patient and exact inquirers on every other subject take Christianity as an existing phenomenon, the origin and progress of which deserve, at least, to be accounted for? Why confound it by one sweeping sentence with the different and successive modes of superstition, which, from whatever causes, have, from
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the beginning of the human race, spread themselves over different portions of the earth? Has it in its character and constitution any thing in common with any of them? Do not they, one and all, stand condemned before a moral reasoning theist, not only as wholly unsupported by external evidence, but as unworthy and opposite to the very nature of a moral governor of the world? On these grounds, had the Christian revelation never made a claim on the belief of mankind, they and we should have been warranted in rejecting them all, from the elegant mythology of Greece and Rome to the black and horrible superstitions of the Hindoos. Allowing them, in short, to have had any origin but in the fears, or in the lusts of men, they could only have been ascribed to the agency of demons conspiring in one region and at one period to allure, and at another to terrify their votaries from the primæval worship of the one true God.

Contradistinguished from all these, and victorious over many, stands the revelation purporting to have been made to mankind by Jesus Christ, and at this moment prevailing almost over all the civilized portions of the globe. Now this is the phenomenon to be accounted for. That it was not spread by conquest they must admit;—and that, instead of falling in with and flattering the corrupt passions of human nature, it set itself in array against them all, and, without compromise or concession, totally refuses to admit any intercommunity with moral evil. Again—this system, whatever may be its origin, is wholly theistic; its modes of worship are pure and simple: bloodless, though teaching a propitiation through blood, and chaste, while they inculcate the warmest love of God and man.

Let us not be mistaken as overstating the merits of Christianity. We mean not to confound it with the additions which have been heaped upon it, or, as some inquirers are too apt to do, with the abuses and corruptions which in some instances have sunk it almost to the level of paganism, but as it exists, pure and unadulterated, in the single volume which is competent to bear witness to its general character.

We say then that a phenomenon so extraordinary is, at least, entitled to investigation. That the divine origin of such a system is not, like every other, ancient or modern, in the world, negatived, as a revelation, by its own character and constitution, is manifest. We are reasoning with men, who, as we hope and trust, believe in the existence of a Moral Governor of the universe, and to their own principles we confidently appeal in affirming that, independently of all external testimony, such a religion may have proceeded from God. If it should, their rejection of it, previously to all reasonable inquiry, must be highly offensive to the Deity;—if it should not,

not, they will, at least, have lost the triumph of having demonstrated the existence of another phenomenon, more singular even than the former; namely, an alliance of eighteen centuries between the purest morality and the most artful imposture.

Unhappily Dr. Chalmers has taken a very different course, and either from prejudices of his education in a Calvinistic church, or from some other cause, with which we are not acquainted, has commenced and continued his work in persevering efforts to depreciate the internal evidence for the truth of the Christian revelation. It is the peculiarity of that system, for a very obvious reason, to exalt the physical, at the expense of the moral, attributes of the Divinity; and while it professes to own and to reverence the latter, to represent those qualities, while existing in the Almighty, to be of so transcendent a nature, that little can be antecedently inferred from them with respect to his probable conduct towards his creatures upon earth. In this spirit, and as an apology for resting the entire weight of his cause on external evidence, we are told by Dr. Chalmers of the internal evidence—

‘that, as appears to many, no effectual argument can be founded upon this consideration, because they do not count themselves enough acquainted with the designs or character of the Being from whom the Messenger professes to have come.

‘Were the author of the message some distant and unknown individual of our own species we would [should] scarcely be entitled to found an argument upon any comparison of ours between the import of the message and the character of the individual, even though we had our general experience of human nature to help us in the speculation. Now of the *invisible God we have no experience whatever*. We are still further removed from all direct and personal observation of him, or of his counsels. Whether we think of the eternity of his government, or the mighty range of its influence over the wide departments of nature and of providence, he stands at such a distance from us as to make the management of his empire a subject inaccessible to all our faculties.’

‘It is evident, however, that this does not apply to the second topic of examination.

‘The bearers of the message were beings like ourselves, and we can apply our safe and certain experience of man to their conduct and their testimony. We may know too little of God to found any argument upon the coincidence which we may conceive to exist between the subject of the message and our previous conceptions of its author. But we may know enough of man to pronounce upon the credibility of the messengers. Had they the manner and physiognomy of honest men? Was their testimony resisted, or did they persevere in it? Had they any interest in fabricating the message—or did they suffer in consequence of this perseverance?—did they suffer to such a degree as to constitute a satisfying pledge of their integrity? Was there more than one messenger, and did they agree as to the substance of that communication

nication which they made to the world? Did they exhibit any special mark of their office as messengers of God; such a mark as none but God could give, and none but his approved messengers could obtain possession of? Was this mark the power of working miracles, and were these miracles so obviously addressed to the senses as to leave no suspicion of deceit behind them? These are questions which we feel our competency to take up and to decide upon. They lie within the legitimate boundaries of human observation, and upon the solution of these do we rest the question of the truth of the Christian religion.' p. 15, 16.

Thus precipitately and indiscretely does our author surrender to its assailants, even before a summons received, one of the strongest outworks of revelation. Let us inquire, therefore, what he loses by the concession, and whether that concession were necessary.

With respect then to the weight of internal evidence as grounded on a previous knowledge of the moral attributes of God, we are compelled to enter our protest most seriously and solemnly against his assertion—that of the invisible God we have no experience whatever, and that we are still further removed from all direct and personal observation of him and his counsels.

On this point we are very sure that our author and St. Paul are at issue. The great apostle built his argument for the inexcusable-ness of vice and immorality in the heathen world on this solid foundation, that they had, under all their disadvantages, an opportunity of acquiring the knowledge of the one true God from contemplating his external works.

'For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men; who hold the truth (the truth of natural religion) in unrighteousness: because that which may be known of God is manifest in them; for God hath shewed it unto them. For the invisible things of him from the Creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made; even his eternal power and godhead; so that they are without excuse.'⁸

What then, if we are to believe an inspired apostle, is to become of this rash assertion, which, indeed, amounts to nothing less than the annihilation of all natural religion at a stroke? But the fact is, that, although in a revelation, claiming to come from God, many things beyond what the limited faculties of man could ever contemplate as antecedently probable might reasonably be expected, yet to say that we have no intimation from the light of nature, no experience whatever, of God and of his counsels, is equivalent to asserting that a pure and an impure, a moral and immoral revelation are equally proveable by the same external evidence which appears for the truth of Christianity. Is it then of no account, or is it not rather of the utmost importance to the argument, that in the ge-

⁸ Rom. c. i. v. 18—20.

name Christianity of the New Testament there is nothing which leaves it to be inferred that its author was a cruel, capricious being? That in his conduct, as there represented, no characters appear but those of mercy, truth, and sanctity? But, in fact, it is next to impossible to separate the two species of evidence from each other; so that in a desperate attempt to effect that very purpose, our author has actually and very unskilfully interwoven them. Had they, he asks, the manner and physiognomy of honest men? &c. &c.—Now this is internal evidence; for the characters of the witnesses are those of the religion. We have another and a powerful objection to our author's manner of enforcing the external testimony for the Gospel, singly and exclusively. He appears to us to think it capable of proving any thing short of a contradiction; and to the miracles alone would he confidently appeal for the truth of the Christian revelation—in other words, that it came from God. We will, therefore, try this question upon its own merits. Remove then, in the first place, all idea of a Moral Governor of the world; let it be taken as antecedently indifferent what the character of an alleged revelation should be—that in confirmation of it, the blind receive their sight, the lame walk, the deaf recover their hearing, (all without natural means) and the dead are raised. According to Dr. Chalmers, this evidence alone lands us (in his own elegant phrase) in the conclusion, that a religion, so proved, be its moral character what it may, is necessarily from God. Supposing, again, that on looking further into the thing conceived to be thus proved, it should turn out to be a system cruel, libidinous, and idolatrous, it follows, of course, that the author of this revelation must delight in such enormities. Those moral attributes, therefore, of which we were previously ignorant in a state of nature, are now disproved by revelation. Neither does our author, in his disposition to arrogate every thing in favour of external testimony, seem to be aware that the fact of the Gospel miracles may be allowed, and his conclusion eluded or denied. Perhaps there may be some among his philosophical readers on the banks of Forth or Clyde, who may impute them to the agency of demons. This objection, which was that of Celsus and other philosophical infidels of old, has, however, been repeatedly and satisfactorily answered: by Dr. Chalmers, in the precipitance of his zeal, it has been wholly overlooked.

In this attempt to vindicate the neglected rights of that species of proof on behalf of Revelation which the author has very unreasonably depreciated, we desire not to be misunderstood. Pure morality affords of itself little evidence of the divine origin of a system in which it is inculcated. There is much good morality in the Koran. A cool and clear-headed impostor will always discern the advantage of adapting his doctrines to the moral sense

sense and feelings of mankind, and if this were all in which the internal evidences of the Gospel consisted, we should not differ from Dr. Chalmers on the subject so widely as we feel ourselves constrained to do. But when a professed Messenger from God undertakes to *legislate* in morality; when he not only inculcates but *discovers* virtues unknown to ancient ethics, such as meekness, love of enemies, and returning evil for good; and when, after an experience of eighteen centuries, the observance of those identical and newly promulgated virtues is found to have contributed more to sweeten the tempers of mankind and to sooth the ills of life than all the lessons of morality which went before them, we see something in the character of this religion which an impostor would not have dared to hazard. It would have been impossible to ascertain before-hand how far the bow would endure to be strained before it broke. Alkin to this subject, and inseparably united with the internal evidence of the Gospel, is the character of Jesus. This could not have been invented. Take away the original itself, and what in the wide range of human nature had ever appeared even as a distant archetype?—Surely not a character, after all, so suspicious as that of Socrates, who, moreover, had the advantage of two biographers the most exquisite masters which the world had then known both of composition and of human nature. But the history of Jesus was entrusted to a few Galilean fishermen, who, by simply adhering to facts, without tumour, without ornament, and without contrivance, have produced a character not only consummate in wisdom and goodness, but in such *modes* of wisdom and goodness as the world had not before agreed so to denominate or receive.

Now the obvious purport of all this is, in the first place, to establish an antecedent presumption in favour of a religion confessedly and intrinsically excellent, to put to shame that uninquisitive contempt by which minute philosophers are wont to dismiss it in the mass, and undistinguished from modes of superstition the most pernicious and the most absurd; and to shew them that, even as a phenomenon to be accounted for, its external evidences merit at least a calm and modest investigation. This was the aspect in which the Christian Revelation ought first to have been presented to the class of philosophical (often, perhaps, moral) unbelievers, for whose conviction the work before us appears to have been principally intended. But instead of an arrangement so discreet and prepossessing, our author has thought proper to sink the character and principles of the system to be investigated, the consequence of which is that he binds himself to produce, and his antagonists have a right to require that he produce, a body of external evidence in favour of the doctrine which he undertakes to demonstrate, capable of proving any thing worthy or unworthy of a moral governor of the universe.

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But this is not matter of arrangement merely. After having rested the principal weight of his superstructure upon external testimony, he might have admitted the suppletory aid of internal proof, not in order to shew that, if men believed, they would believe to their unspeakable advantage, and if they refused assent to the evidence it would be to their own infinite detriment, (for to this bias upon the understanding he seems to have a more than reasonable aversion,) but to shew the harmony and fitness of the whole system and its worthiness of the alleged author. Even this has been withheld, and withheld, as we conceive, to the infinite disadvantage of the subject. This, in our apprehension, is the radical defect of the whole work, the particular parts of which are very unequal.

πολλα μὲν εἶδα μεμιγμένα, πολλα δὲ λυγρα.

Many strong positions indeed are taken, many arguments ingeniously and powerfully sustained; but, perhaps from our familiarity with the far superior and more convincing works on the same subject which our own country has lately produced, the general effect is unsatisfactory. Let us not be mistaken, as hinting that the argument, stated as it is by Dr. Chalmers, does not bring full conviction to our minds; but the general impression in the course of our perusal has been, that on some topics too little has been said, and on others perhaps too much; and that in addition to the unfortunate and studied omission already mentioned, the whole effect of the argument, in its different bearings and converging from many different points, is no where collectively exhibited and enforced. With these general defects there are many particular passages entitled to the praise of much originality and no common excellence. Among these we shall select the following acute and striking remarks on the peculiar bias arising from the importance of the subject, which renders it so difficult to institute and pursue an inquiry into the evidences of Christianity in the spirit of severe and impartial investigation.

‘We are ready to admit that, as the object of the inquiry is not the character but the truth of Christianity, the philosopher should be careful to protect his mind from the delusion of its charms. He should separate the exercises of the understanding from the tendencies of the fancy or of the heart. He should be prepared to follow the light of evidence, though it may lead him to conclusions the most painful and melancholy. He should train his mind to *all the hardihood of abstract and unfeeling intelligence*. He should give up every thing to the supremacy of argument, and be able to renounce without a sigh all the tenderest prepossessions of infancy, the moment that truth demands of him the sacrifice. Let it be remembered, however, that while one species of prejudice operates in favour of christianity, another prejudice operates against it. There is a class of men who are repelled from the investigation of its evidences because in their minds it is allied with the weakness

weakness of superstition, and they feel that they are descending when they bring down their minds to a subject which engrosses so much respect and admiration from the vulgar.

‘It appears to us that the peculiar feeling, which the sacredness of the subject gives to the inquirer, is, upon the whole, unfavourable to the impression of the Christian argument. Had the subject not been sacred, and had the same testimony been given to the facts which are connected with it, we are satisfied that the history of Jesus in the New Testament would have been looked upon as the best supported by evidence of any history that has come down to us. It would assist us in appreciating the evidence for the truth of the Gospel history, if we could conceive for a moment that Jesus, instead of being the founder of a new religion, had been merely the founder of a new school of philosophy, and that the different histories which have come down to us had merely represented him as an extraordinary person, who had rendered himself illustrious among his countrymen by the wisdom of his sayings and the beneficence of his actions. We venture to say, that had this been the case, a tenth part of the testimony, which has actually been given, would have been enough to satisfy us. To form a fair estimate of the strength of the Christian argument, we should, if possible, divest ourselves of all reference to religion, and view the truth of the Gospel history purely as a question of erudition’ (we should rather have said abstract fact). ‘If at the outset of the investigation we have a prejudice against the Christian religion, the effect is obvious, and without any refinement of explanation, we see at once how such a prejudice must dispose us to annex suspicion and distrust to the testimony of the Christian writers.’

In all this and more, which, with some degree of unnecessary circumlocution, our author has added to the same purpose, there is much both of truth and originality. There is much also on which an acute and willing adversary would fasten—there is something too on which a friendly critic may fairly animadvert.

And first, with respect to that unfeeling severity of ratiocination which seems to be required by Dr. Chalmers as a necessary ingredient in a fair investigation of the evidences of Christianity—If it were intimated to a person who had hitherto thought himself intitled to the reversion of a princely fortune, that his title on inquiry might probably turn out to be defective—would it be possible that he should set about an investigation so momentous to himself, in the same disposition of mind with his solicitor? Assuredly not: but the real question is (and it certainly involves considerable difficulties in the science of human nature) what would be the effect of his natural anxiety on the operations of his understanding? Perhaps it would be different, and even opposite, in different men. The timid, the diffident, and the desponding, would, through the overwhelming pressure of apprehended loss, and the too probable disappointment of their fondest hopes, be driven for present relief into the

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the dangerous course of overstating every argument in their favour, and of extenuating, by every mode of sophistry and self-deceit, the evidence on the other side. On the contrary, a mind of firmer texture would prepare boldly and fairly to meet the danger. The mere importance of the subject would give an opposite direction to his diffidence. He would sift his own case thoroughly: reject every thing in his own favour, in which acumen stimulated by interest could discover the semblance of a flaw; and anticipate the possibility of a final disappointment, as the best means of alleviating the stroke, if it should arrive, or of enhancing the value of his triumph, should he prove triumphant. This, we think, would be the respective effects of an overwhelming temporal interest in any question, upon minds differently constituted, and if this be really the case, with respect to their bearing upon the present argument, they would fairly neutralize each other. And here we cannot refrain from asking Dr. Chalmers in passing, (for his own unaccountable neglect of the internal evidence compels us to put a question apparently harsh and revolting,) what would be the value of a belief acquired by such a process—the process of ‘training the inquirer’s mind to all the hardihood of abstract and unfeeling intelligence’? To have acquired his faith in Christianity as a student arrives at a conclusion in Euclid?

Once more—In the long passage cited above, Dr. Chalmers imputes to the sacredness of the subject, and to the peculiar feeling which has been described, an effect which we should scarcely have expected; namely, that an higher degree of evidence is required for the miraculous portions of the Gospel story than for the attestation of an ordinary history—the incarnation, for example, than the crucifixion of Jesus. On the contrary, we think that this very demand has arisen from a source diametrically opposite to the other; namely, that severe and unfeeling exercise of the reasoning powers which he deems so necessary for the inquiry. It was a severe reasoner, not a timid and anxious feeler, on the subject, who started the question whether any degree of testimony whatever were adequate to the proof of miracles; and happy we are that the objection was urged and supported as it was; because the reputation of the author, and the subtle dialectic genius of his ratiocination, while it appalled the weak, arrayed some of the ablest advocates of revelation against him, and brought out a body of proof in favour of miracles as capable of testimony, which has set the question at rest.

The common objection to Christian evidences in favour of miracles, because they are Christian, is thus stated by Dr. Chalmers.

‘Still there is a lurking suspicion, which survives all argument. He is a Christian—he is one of the party. Am I an infidel? I persist in
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distrusting the testimony. Am I a Christian? I rejoice in the strength of it.'

In a gainful cause the evidence of a party is universally suspicious, and in this view the objection would be applicable to modern Christians, could they be considered in the light of witnesses at all—for, in addition to all the hopes of immortality, which a conviction of the falsehood of revelation blasts at once, there are unquestionably many individuals on whom, as honest men, such a conviction would be an imperious call to renounce certain temporal emoluments and distinctions. In conducting therefore so momentous an inquiry it is not impossible that they may be swayed by some degree of bias upon the mind, of which they are wholly unconscious. But the total absence of such a bias would not render them witnesses in the cause,—their opinions on the subject would, after all, be nothing more than the opinions of unprejudiced men. The only witnesses on this subject are the first writers on the side of Christianity; Christians indeed, but men who, having been either Jews or heathens, had ceased to be such from a full persuasion of the miracles to which they had been eye-witnesses, and had become Christians at the hazard of their lives, and at the peril of every thing which was dear to them upon earth.

In this work the objection taken from the general infidelity of the Jews, who beheld the miracles of Jesus, is well and dexterously managed, though we think that too much is at length conceded by our author, who allows that all the experience we have about the operation of prejudice, and the perverseness of the human temper and understanding, cannot afford a complete solution of the question. In many respects indeed it is a case *sui generis*, and the only creditable information which we can attain to enlighten us on the subject, is through the medium of that very testimony upon which the difficulty in question has thrown the suspicion that we want to get rid of. It must be confessed that the case is in some degree, as the author describes it, altogether singular, and that history furnishes no other example of the effect which the most astonishing miracles would produce on a people, so bigoted and obstinate as the Jews, when wrought before their eyes. But for the same reason it is needless to embarrass himself and us by referring to the general principles of human nature, the perversity of which, under every mode, and in every state of intellect, will certainly account at once for much of the credulity, and as much of the unbelief, which exists in the world. Mere savages, alternately, draw no inferences from real interruptions of the powers of nature, and ascribe natural effects to preternatural causes. Philosophers under the same circumstances have recourse to certain latent and undiscovered qualities in nature. But the Jews of our Saviour's time had no exact parallel: they were

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neither savages nor philosophers; but, having been partially enlightened by a preparatory revelation of their own, they had completely made up their minds against the reception of every other, and while they beheld and owned that miracles were actually wrought amongst them, eluded the obvious conclusion by ascribing them to the operation of demons. This is the only satisfactory account which can be given of their conduct collectively and as a people. But to all these are to be added particular and professional causes of obduracy and unbelief. The pride of rank, the administration of the laws as vested in themselves, distance from places of vulgar resort, disdain of popular rumours, jealousy of imposture in an age abounding with impostors—all these reasons and more would operate upon the higher orders of the Jews to prevent them from becoming eye-witnesses of deeds however remarkable, such as reported to be performed by a poor itinerant. Their example, authority, and persuasion, would operate in the same direction upon their numerous dependents; and if we take into the account the vast majority of every people, which from infancy, sickness, decrepitude, and domestic engagements must ever be prevented from going abroad in search of extraordinary spectacles, it will follow that a very small proportion of the Jewish nation were actual spectators of our Saviour's miracles, or rather of any single miracle. Thousands, we know, were occasionally assembled, but what are thousands even repeatedly collected on various occasions, compared with the millions which, within forty years from the death of Christ, that devoted country could afford for slaughter? But it is to these alone,—the actual spectators of any single miracle, that the argument applies. The question therefore is—why were not *their* prejudices at least universally overcome? Narrowed to such a point, the question is certainly important. An analysis of the probable dispositions of these witnesses will lead to a conclusion not widely different from the fact. First, then, out of this mingled mass are to be extracted the real believers in Christ, who, convinced by what they saw and heard, boldly avowed their persuasion and suffered for it. Now these are the only witnesses for the reality of the gospel miracles, properly so called. The evidence was overbearing—evidence presented to their senses—to the senses of numbers at the same time, and received at the peril of their reputation, and their lives. The next place must be assigned to a class, in all probability very numerous, consisting of the timid, the interested, and the worldly-minded, who saw, believed, and dissembled their belief. Another belongs to those who admitted the truth of the facts but ascribed them to the operation of demons. The last and lowest is to be given to an idle and brutal rabble, such as any wonderful

story will always assemble in countries more civilized than Judea, who beheld the miracles of Jesus as they would have regarded the tricks of a juggler, with stupid and momentary astonishment, leading to no conclusion, or rather to no reflection. Such, then, is the value of this boasted argument from the general incredulity of the Jewish people. Another observation on this subject, though not quite original, has been well and forcibly urged by our author, we mean, the absence of all contrary evidence. The circumstances of the gospel miracles were left by their first relators in no convenient generalities. Time, place, concomitant, preceding and subsequent facts are commonly given; and, when these miracles were confidently appealed to as notorious and recent, the governing powers of the country had it in their option to call for the appearance and take the examination of multitudes known to have been present at the places and times assigned, who had not embraced the doctrine of Jesus. This was the only rational method which could have been devised for crushing a successful and spreading imposture, but it was never resorted to, and the total absence of any negative testimony on the subject amounts to positive proof of general and contemporary acquiescence in the truth of the miracles alleged to have been wrought by Jesus.

Let it not be said that this conduct was owing to neglect and contempt: long before the apprehension of Christ all the passions and prejudices of the higher orders were evidently excited to the highest pitch against his person and doctrine; they were acute, politic, and vindictive—they hated and feared the new doctrine in equal proportions, but, excepting their wicked subornation in order to contradict the fact of the Resurrection, they felt themselves compelled to leave the evidence from miracles wholly unassailed.

With much to praise, and, excepting a single defect, not much to censure, in the work before us, we earnestly recommend an attentive perusal of its contents to those for whose benefit it seems to have been intended, the infidel scavans of the author's own country.

On the internal evidences of Christianity they want nothing but a spirit of attentive and impartial inquiry into its beneficial tendency and effects, to enable them to judge for themselves.

On the external testimony, to which Dr. Chalmers has applied the whole force of his understanding, they will find a great deal which uninquiring prejudice may condemn, but which no powers of reasoning with which they are gifted will be able to confute. The general credibility of human testimony must be shaken in order to shake the credibility of the Gospel miracles. Let the intrinsic excellence of this religion dispose them to apply to its proofs the same calm and philosophical process of the understanding,

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which they are in the habit of applying to every other remarkable phenomenon, and we have little doubt of the result: but should it unfortunately happen that they, or any of them, should rise up from a careful perusal of the work before us without that conviction which, as we think, it might have brought to their minds, let them not impute their disappointment to the subject or to the evidence. As an advocate for the truth of the Christian revelation Dr. Chalmers cannot be placed in the first class. With all his demands for a spirit of severe ratiocination on the subject, he is himself no severe reasoner. His style, too diffuse and declamatory, is perceptibly tinged by those habits of extemporaneous eloquence, which in his own church accomplish the speaker, while they often spoil the writer. Many strong and striking things indeed are said, but in a manner too desultory to produce the full effect to which they are entitled, and in an order too irregular and inconsequent to concentrate all the rays of light in one focus. There are also many important omissions, the subject of prophecy in particular—but above all, we desiderate in the close of his book a clear and forcible summing up of the whole evidence, so as to bring it at once before the wavering and half-convinced mind, and by its irresistible effect to fix it in belief. But to these philosophers it is probably unknown (we fear it is but imperfectly known to our author himself) that the present and the last generation have produced from the English school of theology more than one work on the same important subject, by masters at once of reason and of style, accomplished in the laws of evidence, and skilled in all the art of lucid order and arrangement. To these we confidently remit the unconvinced and unsatisfied readers of Dr. Chalmers, and if, after having taken up the works of Lyttleton and Jenyns, of Powell and Paley, they feel a disposition to lay them by half read, either their heads or their hearts must be in fault, they must be incapable of conviction on the most momentous of all subjects, or they must dread it; and they have reason to apprehend that the Being whom they do not choose to retain in their knowledge, hath given them a strong delusion if not ‘that they should believe a lie,’ what is at least equally pernicious, that they should disbelieve the truth.

ART. VIII.—1. *Journal of the Proceedings of the late Embassy to China; comprising a correct Narrative of the Public Transactions of the Embassy, of the Voyage to and from China, and of the Journey from the Mouth of the Pei-ho to the Return to Canton, &c. Illustrated by Maps and Drawings.* By Henry Ellis, Third Commissioner of the Embassy. 4to. pp. 526. London. 1817.

2. *Narrative of a Voyage in His Majesty's late Ship Alceste to the Yellow Sea, along the Coast of Corea and through its numerous hitherto undiscovered Islands to the Island of Lewchew, with an Account of her Shipwreck in the Straits of Gaspar.* By John M'Leod, Surgeon of the Alceste. 8vo. pp. 284. London. 1817.

IT was said 'i'th' olden time,' (and the saying is not much the worse for the wear,) that 'the race is not always to the swift;—and, indeed, of all swift-paced animals, an author is not the least likely to break down, if pushed beyond his speed. Mr. Ellis has certainly taken the lead of about half a dozen competitors, who are said to have started along with him; but he may not, for all this, win the prize, though he has the advantage in starting. To speak plainly, we are of opinion that his book betrays too great haste; and are led to regret that he should not have taken more time, as well as counsel, before he published. Had this been done, we are pretty certain that he would not only have lopped off many redundancies, but have expunged some strange words, and still stranger figures of speech: we should not then have heard of 'the repose of putrifying garlic on a much worn blanket;' nor of throwing a vacant countenance into laughter, by the 'expounded radiance of silliness;—nor of comparing a muddy river to 'hasty-pudding,' which is not a very happy similitude, nor one, in fact, which Mr. Ellis had an interest in suggesting. These, and other phrases of the same kind, are not only examples of bad taste, but exhibit a degree of levity not altogether suited to the high official situation held by the writer.* Mr. Ellis had a model before him in Sir George Staunton's 'Authentic Account' of the former embassy; or, if he thought that was drawn up in too grave and sustained a style to be used in a 'diary,' there was that excellent book, 'The Travels of John Bell of Antermory,' the best model perhaps for travel-writing in the English language.† The discussions too with the Chinese government are given

* He was secretary of embassy and third commissioner. Sir George Staunton was second commissioner, and to succeed, on the death or absence of the ambassador, as first commissioner, Mr. Ellis's dormant commission of minister plenipotentiary being merely provided for securing the delivery of the Regent's letter.

† The history of this book is somewhat curious, and not generally known. For many years after Mr. Bell returned from his travels he used to amuse his friends with accounts of what he had seen, refreshing his recollection from a simple diary of occurrences and observations. The Earl Granville, then president of the Council, on hearing some of his adventures, prevailed on him to throw his notes together into the form of a narrative, which, when done, pleased him so much that he sent the manuscript to Doctor Robertson, with a particular request that he would revise and put it in a fit state for the press. The literary avocations of the Scottish historian at that time not allowing him to undertake the task, he recommended Mr. Barrow, a professor in the University of Aberdeen; and on this gentleman consulting Doctor Robertson as to the style and the book of travels which

given so much in detail as to divest them of all dignity, and to place the parties concerned in rather a disparaging if not a ludicrous point of view. A diplomatist is invested with a trust which he is bound to deposit in those hands from which he originally received it; he is not at liberty to lay before the public the details of his official employment; much less heedlessly to fling over them a cast of undue contempt.—With these drawbacks, which a conscientious discharge of our duty to the public has compelled us to notice, we have no hesitation in pronouncing the volume before us a valuable and interesting work. And one advantage, certainly, may be derived from Mr. Ellis's frankness. The paltry intrigues of this oriental negotiation (thus unreservedly laid open) afford a practical illustration of the childish vanity, the insolence, the meanness, and the unblushing falsehood of the court of China; and they display, in its true light, the moral and political character of this government of sages, which Voltaire and his followers conspired to hold up as a pattern for all governments to follow, and an example for the general admiration of mankind.

Mr. Ellis's volume contains, in the form of a diary, an account of the transactions of the British embassy with the court of Pekin; a narrative of occurrences in a journey of thirteen or fourteen hundred miles through the heart of the Chinese empire; and a clear and, we doubt not, an accurate description of the various objects which presented themselves on the route. It is true that all which can be seen from the grand canal, and which is the usual track from Pekin to Canton, is now nearly as well known as the road from London to Edinburgh; and although the route of the present embassy deviated from that of Lord Macartney in taking the course of the great river, the Yang-tse-kiang, for two hundred and eighty miles, which afforded an opportunity of viewing the ancient capital of Nankin, and the fine scenery in the neighbourhood of the *Po-yang* lake, yet that sameness, which is characteristic of China, seems every where to have occurred in the constant repetition of the same kind of objects.

In a former Number* we traced the progress of the embassy to its embarkation on the barges of the *Pei-ho*; and formed a tolerable guess at the scenes which had been acted at the 'celestial residence'; this we were enabled to do (for we make no pretensions to the gift of second sight) partly from some little knowledge of the

which he would recommend him to adopt for his guide, the historian replied, 'Take Gulliver's Travels for your model, and you cannot go wrong.' He did so, and 'Bell's Travels' has all the simplicity of Gulliver, with the advantage which truth always carries over fiction.

* No. XXXII. pp. 412, 413.

Chinese court, and partly from the imperial edicts, which were then in our hands. We must now return to our first statement, and take up the embassy at the Pei-ho. Even at this early period, it was thought by some that an unfavourable disposition had manifested itself towards the embassy, though nothing could be more civil and attentive than the conduct of the two mandarins *Chang* and *Yin*, and the imperial legate *Quang*. Conformably with the precedent of Lord Macartney's embassy, the two former had visited the ambassador on board, the latter received him on shore. After some trifling questions of routine, such as—what were the objects of the embassy? how many persons it consisted of? how they meant to return? &c. they adverted to the *ko-tou* or ceremony of prostration, and observed that previous practice would be required to secure the decorous performance of it in presence of the emperor; but Lord Amherst cut them short by observing that whatever was right and proper would be done. This early intimation, however, of what was almost certain to be demanded, induced his lordship to take the opinion of Sir George Staunton on the subject, who did not hesitate to declare, that the performance of the ceremony was not only incompatible with personal and national respectability, but that a compliance with it would be attended with the most injurious effects on the company's interests at Canton. In his mind, the mere reception of the embassy was not worth being purchased by the sacrifice.

The legate, who received the ambassador on shore, had previously informed Mr. Morrison, who acted as Lord Amherst's interpreter, that he should abstain from entering upon any discussion at his first interview, as his sole object was to pay his respects to the ambassador, and to become personally acquainted with him; and his lively and affable manners were considered as grounds of favourable augury for more important concerns. He repeated, what had before been said, that the emperor had particularly inquired about the age of Lord Amherst's son, and he himself seemed to wish to give a foretaste of the honours that awaited this young gentleman by the extreme attention which he paid him—but Mr. Ellis doubts whether this was in consequence of the imperial inquiries, or designed as an irresistible attack on Lord Amherst's good-will; they had all reason, however, to be satisfied with his conduct.

Nothing more was said at this interview; but something that fell from the legate, in the course of conversation, led Sir George Staunton to anticipate an imperial banquet at Tien-sing, where a *ta-yin*, or 'great man,' of the name of *Soo*, was to meet them; Sir George had also incidentally collected that, though it was now the 10th August, the audience was fixed for the 22d. On the 12th

they

they reached Tien-sing. Here the three attendant mandarins, with *Soo*, waited on the ambassador; and, after some general conversation and mutual compliments, asked for a copy of the Regent's letter; they also let him know that the emperor had been graciously pleased to order an entertainment to be given to his lordship, and that nine o'clock had been fixed on as the most convenient hour. On taking leave, the imperial legate said he would furnish the ambassador with a written statement of every thing connected with his reception at Peking, his stay there, (which it was hinted would be very short,) and the mode in which his time would be employed.

On the morning of the 13th the ambassador proceeded in state to the hall in which the banquet was prepared. On entering it, the first object that met his eyes was a table placed before a screen, with yellow silk hanging before it; the mandarins in attendance were all dressed in their robes of ceremony. The legate began by observing, that the entertainment of which they were about to partake was given by the emperor, and that therefore the same ceremonies would be required from all parties as if they were in the imperial presence. Lord Amherst replied, that he was prepared to approach his imperial Majesty with the same demonstrations of respect as his own sovereign. They said the *ko-tou* was the ceremony required; his lordship declared his intention of following, in every respect, the precedent established by Lord Macartney. They said that Lord Macartney had performed every ceremony and especially the *ko-tou*, not only in the presence of the emperor but at all other times; and *Soo* declared that himself remembered his having performed it at Canton; and they had the assurance to appeal to Sir George Staunton for the truth of what they asserted. This was not all; they even produced a paper, purporting to be an extract from the official records of the court of ceremonies, describing the whole ceremony which Lord Macartney performed in presence of the emperor; among which that of the *ko-tou* was specifically mentioned.

They now assumed a haughty tone; they supposed that it was the intention of the ambassador to please the emperor, and they did not think it becoming in him to refuse a ceremony which themselves must perform. Lord Amherst replied, that he would follow the conduct of Lord Macartney, as instructed by his sovereign to do. It was then hinted that the embassy might not be received; upon which Lord Amherst said, that however mortifying it might be to his feelings, he must decline the honour intended him by the entertainment, and that he should be prepared, on his arrival at Peking, to submit the reasons of his refusal, in writing, to his imperial Majesty. Finding the ambassador inflexible, an appeal

peal was made to his paternal feelings, and he was asked, whether he would be so wanting in natural affection as to deprive his son of the honour of seeing the emperor? They urged repeatedly the certain displeasure of the emperor and the actual compliance of Lord Macartney; but finding that nothing was to be gained, they began to shew some disposition to yield; and said that they would no longer insist on the performance of the ceremony, on the present occasion, but that the consequences must fall on Lord Amherst if, in punishment for his refusal, the embassy and the presents should not be received. Lord Amherst then observed that, although one bow was the honour that was paid by the members of the chief council of the nation, to which he belonged, before the vacant throne of the sovereign, he should not hesitate to make as many bows, on the present occasion, as they did prostrations: upon this voluntary concession, they endeavoured, with true characteristic illiberality, to graft a farther demand that Lord Amherst should also kneel upon one knee, which was of course rejected. The point was then given up; and while the mandarins, on their knees and with outstretched arms, knocked their heads nine times on the ground, Lord Amherst with his party bowed nine times in unison with their prostrations. For this act of condescension Mr. Ellis has found a parallel case in that of the Chevalier Le Roque, the commander of the French frigate *Amphitrite*, who, at an imperial feast given by the Viceroy of Canton, in 1669, bowed profoundly while the mandarins performed the *ko-tou*. In both cases a dinner and a play followed the ceremony.

They were now anxious to know what ceremony the ambassador proposed to perform before the emperor; they were told, to kneel on one knee and make his obeisance in that posture; this they affected not to understand, and proposed that he should then go through it: this of course he refused; but, on their observing that they merely wished to see it, that they might more accurately describe it to the emperor, Lord Amherst's son, at the suggestion of Sir George Staunton, performed it before his father: they then inquired how often he was willing to bow; the answer was that, although he did not conceive the demonstration of respect to be increased by the repetition, he should not hesitate to repeat his bows as often as they did their prostrations—and here the discussion closed.

On the morning of the 14th the embassy left Tien-sing. The mandarins continued their friendly attentions; they visited the members in their barges; they requested Lord Amherst to shew them the splendid box containing the Regent's letter, and although they evinced all the outward signs of childish gratification at the sight of a splendid bauble, they did not commit themselves to any expression of admiration; but contented themselves with a wish that the present

sent address, 'Sir, my brother,' might be omitted; as they dared not to read it with that address. The following day, however, their difficulties seemed to increase. The two attendant mandarins said, that an order had been received from the emperor to send back the band as an unnecessary appendage. Lord Amherst remonstrated against such a proceeding; but the legate said *he* must be as tenacious of the edict of the emperor, as the ambassador was of the orders of his sovereign; and that his refusal to perform the ceremony had rendered it impossible for him to take any further responsibility upon himself; and here the matter dropped. In the evening, however, they called on him again, to know what was become of the ships, which had disappeared from the coast. Lord Amherst said that he had given them no orders; that the captain had received specific instructions from his own superiors, which he would of course obey. The legate declared that the emperor would be highly incensed at the departure of the ships without his permission, and that they would be held personally accountable. It was observed that the ships, which had brought the last embassy, had sailed on the second day after Lord Macartney's landing; that the anchorage was notoriously unsafe for large ships, and that, while they were yet on board, the captain was apprehensive he should be under the necessity of quitting the coast. These reasons they requested Lord Amherst to put in writing, in order that they might be transmitted to the emperor.

On the 16th, more untoward circumstances occurred. The mandarins had received an edict, in which was a strong expression of the emperor's displeasure at the occurrences at Tien-sing; the mandarins Soo and Quang were blamed for having allowed the embassy to proceed; and it was stated that the emperor was determined not to receive it unless the *ko-tou* was complied with. Soo and Quang soon arrived with woeful countenances, confirming this statement, and said they were now come for the ambassador's final answer respecting the ceremony, *yes* or *no*. Lord Amherst could only plead his sovereign's commands for his refusal, which were too precise to admit of a departure from them, without some reciprocal concession; and he therefore proposed that a Tartar mandarin, of equal rank with himself, should perform the *ko-tou* before the portrait of the Prince Regent, in which case he was prepared to comply with the emperor's wishes. The mandarins said, that this proposition was inadmissible. Lord Amherst then, claiming their most serious attention, said that he had still another proposal to make, which he trusted would prove more consistent with Chinese usage—it was this; that in return for his performing the *ko-tou*, his imperial majesty should issue an edict, declaring that any Chinese

nese ambassador, who might hereafter be presented at the English court, should perform the Tartar obeisance before his Britannic majesty. The mandarins exclaimed, 'Impossible!—this is more objectionable than the other;'—and they refused to transmit either of these propositions in any shape to the emperor. Lord Amherst then said that, all access to the emperor being thus denied, he had only to declare his readiness to return. The mandarins expressed their regret—said they would report what had occurred—and, in the mean time, would move the barges a short distance down the river. Soon after this, however, another imperial edict arrived, ordering them to proceed to Tong-choo, where it was understood two men of very high rank were to meet the ambassador; and accordingly the heads of the barges were again set up the river.

On the 20th, a communication was made to the ambassador of fresh disasters; the officer at Ta-koo had been dismissed for allowing the ships to depart; 'and,' added Soo-ta-jin, 'such will be our fate.' They now hinted to Lord Amherst, that, even if he complied with their ceremony, he might make any report he pleased on his return to England; on which he observed, that were he base enough to falsify the account, he had seventy-four witnesses with him who would state the truth:—the proposition, however, affords no bad illustration of the notions of the Chinese respecting the conduct of men in public situations.

On the 21st, the embassy reached Tong-choo, where was announced the mission of *Ho*, a *koong-yay*, or duke, as Mr. Ellis is pleased to style him, and *Moo-ta-jin*, the president of the *Li-poo*, or board of ceremonies. The duke was described as a young man of few words, remarkable for severity of manner and inflexibility of character. The president was stated to be advanced in years and of great experience. Lord Amherst was speedily informed that six mandarins from the duke were approaching to wait on him. The two commissioners advanced to meet them, 'I was in front,' says Mr. Ellis, 'and my salutation was not only unreturned, but almost by gesture repulsed.' They brushed forward; rudely usurped the first seats, and said they had been deputed to instruct the ambassador in the performance of the *ko-tou*. Lord Amherst coolly observed, that he should discuss that point with the duke who had sent them; the second in rank then said abruptly, that they were sent to know his sentiments on it; Lord Amherst repeated, that he should communicate them to the *Koong-yay*. The same person observed, that affairs connected with the ceremonies of the celestial empire were weighty and of primary importance; and the first speaker added, 'twelve to-morrow will be the hour;' and, with

with unparalleled insolence, immediately quitted the room with his companions, totally neglecting Lord Amherst and those whom they had come to visit.

The conduct of *Chang* and *Yin* was a perfect contrast to that of their countrymen: they were all friendship and humility; and they only requested that his lordship would land and sleep on shore that night, as they had reported he would to the emperor. The following day was appointed to meet the two great men from Peking in a public building. Lord Amherst was prepared with a letter, addressed from himself to the emperor, to be delivered in the event of the door being closed against further discussion with his ministers. He was received in the hall by *Ho*, *Moo*, *Soo* and *Quang*, with the six rude visitors of the preceding day. No chairs being offered, Mr. Morrison said that the ambassador would begin the conversation when seated; to which *Ho* (the duke) replied, that he intended to stand, and that the ambassador must also remain standing. He then said that he and *Moo* had been dispatched to see him perform the ceremony, and inquired what was his intention? Lord Amherst replied that he had been deputed by his sovereign to the Emperor of China, to manifest the sentiments of regard and veneration, &c. and to approach his imperial presence with the ceremonial which had proved acceptable to *Kien-Lung*, the illustrious father of the emperor. *Ho* answered, 'what happened in the fifty-eighth year belonged to that year; the present is the affair of this embassy, and the regulations of the celestial empire must be complied with; there is no alternative.' Lord Amherst said that he had entertained a confident hope that what had proved acceptable to *Kien-Lung* would not have been refused by his Imperial Majesty. The *Koong-yay*, with vehemence, exclaimed, 'There is but one sun, there is only one *Ta-whang-tee*; he is the universal sovereign, and all must pay him homage;' he then added, that he was come expressly to see him perform it correctly; that as the English read Chinese books, they must be aware of the greatness of the emperor, and of his being sovereign of the universe, and consequently entitled to this homage; that he must therefore either comply, or be sent back; 'all this while his lips were quivering with rage.' Lord Amherst, seeing that no further discussion was likely to take place, drew out the letter which he had prepared for the emperor, and, putting it into his hands, desired him to deliver it to his majesty, and withdrew. This measure produced a very considerable dramatic effect; the *Koong-yay* was evidently surprized, and cooled down rapidly both in manner and look; he even followed Lord Amherst towards the door, and evinced a desire to be more civil at parting than at meeting.

Several

Several days were now suffered to elapse without any communication, except an extra-official report from Chang of the displeasure of the emperor at the resistance of the ambassador, and the departure of the ships, which displeasure was so tremendous as literally to chill the reporter with fear. He added that the governor of Peking had ordered the guards to be doubled round the British quarters, and all communication with the Chinese strictly watched, because, it was observed, 'these foreigners from Canton had made themselves acquainted with the Chinese language, and there was no answering for the consequences of traitorous Chinese corresponding with them.' At length, on the 27th, a meeting was appointed with Ho, who was now all civility; 'Comply with the ceremony,' said he, 'and I am your friend at Peking.'

After this meeting, Lord Amherst, in a consultation with the commissioners, said 'that unless Sir George Staunton still considered compliance under present circumstances injurious to the Company's interests, he was disposed, with a view of averting the probable evil consequences of rejection under irritable feelings, and contemplating the prospect held out of effecting the ulterior objects of the embassy, to comply with the emperor's wishes to the extent of performing the ceremony in his presence.' 'I expressed,' says Mr. Ellis, 'my complete concurrence with Lord Amherst.' Sir George, having consulted the gentlemen of the factory, declared that they concurred with himself in thinking that compliance would be highly injurious to the Company's interests; the maintenance of the respectability of the factory of Canton, and consequently of their efficiency resting entirely on the belief, entertained by the Chinese, of their inflexible adherence to principles once assumed, a belief which must necessarily be subverted by concession in so weighty a point, and on such an important occasion. Lord Amherst and Mr. Ellis then withdrew their suggestion, and a note was written to Ho, stating the final and irrevocable determination to refuse the performance of the ceremony.

Ho soon afterwards made his appearance, and desired the ambassador to lose no time in making his preparations, as the emperor had fixed the following day for his journey and Friday for his first audience. Lord Amherst signified his readiness to proceed, but requested an answer to his note. The Koong-yay bowed significantly, saying that there was no difficulty, that all was arranged, and that he knew what were the feelings of the ambassador's heart; and then rose to take his leave. The utter disregard of the Chinese for truth, from the emperor on the throne to the lowest of his ministers, cannot be better exemplified than in the report of this very Ho from Tong-choo. '*Ho-she-tae* has stated to his Majesty that

that the English *tribute-bearer* is daily practising the ceremony, and manifests the highest possible respect and veneration.'—(App. No. 13.)

The heavy baggage and the presents were now got ready with all possible dispatch; every individual article being marked, numbered and sent off by the Chinese, in waggons drawn by mules or horses, the former of which were observed to be particularly fine animals. About five in the evening of the 28th August, the whole cavalcade was on the road, and soon came to the paved granite caseway leading to Peking; they passed through the suburb which conducts to the eastern gate, which they reached about midnight, but were not a little disappointed in observing the cavalcade defile by the wall. Their eyes were now anxiously turned to the next gate, only to be again disappointed; and it then became obvious that they were making the circuit of the eastern and northern walls to get to their destination, though they had been assured that the gates of the city were left open for them by the special orders of the emperor!

At day-light they arrived at Hai-tien, where the greater part of the suite were dropped; but the ambassador, his son, the two commissioners, and a few other gentlemen, were hurried on to Yuen-min-yuen, without knowing or suspecting the trick that was going to be played off. The extraordinary scene which followed must be given in Mr. Ellis's own words,

'The carriage stopped under some trees, and we ourselves were conducted to a small apartment belonging to a range of buildings in a square; mandarins of all buttons were in waiting; several princes of the blood, distinguished by clear ruby buttons and round flowered badges, were among them: the silence, and a certain air of regularity, marked the immediate presence of the sovereign. The small apartment, much out of repair, into which we were buddled, now witnessed a scene I believe unparalleled in the history of diplomacy. Lord Amherst had scarcely taken his seat, when Chang delivered a message from Ho (Koong-yay), informing him that the emperor wished to see the ambassador, his son, and the commissioners, immediately. Much surprise was naturally expressed; the previous arrangement for the eighth of the Chinese month, a period certainly much too early for comfort, was adverted to, and the utter impossibility of his excellency appearing in his present state of fatigue, inanition, and deficiency of every necessary equipment, was strongly urged. Chang was very unwilling to be the bearer of this answer, but was finally obliged to consent. During this time the room had filled with spectators of all ages and ranks, who rudely pressed upon us to gratify their brutal curiosity, for such it may be called, as they seemed to regard us rather as wild beasts than mere strangers of the same species with themselves. Some other messages were interchanged between the Koong-yay and Lord Amherst, who, in addition to the reasons already given, stated the indecorum

rum and irregularity of his appearing without his credentials. In his reply to this it was said, that in the proposed audience the emperor merely wished to see the ambassador, and had no intention of entering upon business.* Lord Amherst having persisted in expressing the inadmissibility of the proposition, and in transmitting, through the Koong-yay, an humble request to his Imperial Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to wait till to-morrow, Chang and another mandarin finally proposed that his excellency should go over to the Koong-yay's apartments, from whence a reference might be made to the emperor. Lord Amherst having alleged bodily illness as one of the reasons for declining the audience, readily saw, that if he went to the Koong-yay, this plea, which, to the Chinese, (though now scarcely admitted,) was in general the most forcible, would cease to avail him, positively declined compliance: this produced a visit from the Koong-yay, who, too much interested and agitated to heed ceremony, stood by Lord Amherst, and used every argument to induce him to obey the emperor's commands. Among other topics he used that of being received with our own ceremony, using the Chinese words "*ne-muntihlee*," your own ceremony. All proving ineffectual, with some roughness, but under pretext of friendly violence, he laid hands upon Lord Amherst, to take him from the room; another mandarin followed his example. His lordship, with great firmness and dignity of manner, shook them off, declaring, that nothing but the extremest violence should induce him to quit that room for any other place but the residence assigned to him; adding, that he was so overcome by fatigue and bodily illness, as absolutely to require repose. Lord Amherst further pointed out the gross insult he had already received, in having been exposed to the intrusion and indecent curiosity of crowds, who appeared to view him rather as a wild beast than the representative of a powerful sovereign: at all events, he entreated the Koong-yay to submit his request to his Imperial Majesty, who, he felt confident, would, in consideration of his illness and fatigue, dispense with his immediate appearance. The Koong-yay then pressed Lord Amherst to come to his apartments, alleging that they were cooler, more convenient, and more private: this Lord Amherst declined, saying that he was totally unfit for any place but his own residence. The Koong-yay having failed in his attempt to persuade him, left the room for the purpose of taking the emperor's pleasure upon the subject.—pp. 177—180.

Soon after his departure a message was brought, that the emperor dispensed with the ambassador's attendance, and that he had ordered his physician to give him every medical assistance that his illness might require—and now another scene occurred which affords an admirable corollary to Grozier and Du Halde's chapters on the excessive politeness and decorum of the Chinese. The crowd of princes and mandarins had impeded the way to the ambassador's carriage, on which *Ho*, the duke, seizing a large whip, laid about him indiscriminately without any regard to yellow

* It is remarkable, that a proposal not very dissimilar was made to Lemaire.

vests, red, blue or white buttons, or peacock's tails; and it is observed by Mr. Ellis that, 'however indecorous, according to our notions, the employment might be, for a man of his rank, the whip could not have been placed in better hands.' They drove to the rest of the party at Hai-tien, and here the emperor's orders followed them for their immediate departure: it was in vain to plead fatigue; the order was peremptory; no consideration could weigh against the positive commands of the emperor; and, at four o'clock in the afternoon, Lord Amherst got into his chair, and had the enjoyment of a second night's journey round the walls of Pekin, within which they were not suffered to set their feet. This, to Mr. Ellis, must have been a grievous disappointment, having made up his mind, he says, on leaving home, that 'the highest satisfaction would consist in returning to England, and being able to say, with Mr. Barrow, "*non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum*."—p. 41.

In such a temper of mind, with little food and no rest for eight and forty hours, travelling over an irregular granite pavement, in a paltry cart without springs and without a seat in it, in a dark and rainy night, and flying as it were from the wrath of the 'celestial countenance,' we can easily enter into the feelings of Mr. Ellis, thus forcibly expressed.

'Having given up my chair to an invalid, I returned in one of the carts: the motion was bearable till we came on the paved road, when the jolting became intolerable; it was a repeated dislocation of every part of the frame; each jolt seemed sufficient to have destroyed life, which yet remained to undergo the dreadful repetition. The elements combined with the imperial displeasure to annoy us; the rain fell in torrents; not, however, so violently as to deter the spectators from indulging their curiosity by thrusting lanterns into the chairs and carts to have a fuller view of our persons. I certainly never felt so irritated in my life. To be exposed to such indecent curiosity, while suffering considerable pain from the jolting, was too much for the best tempers to bear patiently, and produced in me something not far removed from phrenzy. The darkness, holes in the road, and heavy rain, rendered walking almost impracticable, which, however, I attempted, and should have persisted in, had I not apprehended being separated from the rest of the party. Although Soo had asserted that our march that night was to have been limited to twenty lees, we were carried without halting to our boats at Tong-chow, which we reached at three o'clock in the morning on the 30th.'—p. 186.

Mr. Ellis might well conjecture that Ho intended to practise a deception on Lord Amherst, and that the real object was either to get him into the emperor's presence, under circumstances so inconvenient and indecorous, as to render it perfectly indifferent what ceremony he went through; or, by confusion and personal

violence, to compel him to the performance of the *ko-tou*. The emperor in his apologetical edict (Appen. No. 11.) was evidently himself deceived; he knew nothing of the indecent hurry in parading the ambassador by night round the walls of Peking; and he believed him to be really ill. Under these circumstances, when his physician had visited Lord Amherst and reported that nothing was the matter with him, it is the less surprizing that, in a sudden ebullition of rage, he should drive them away. His rage was not confined to the British embassy; all those who had not succeeded, and those who had participated in the deception practised upon him, suffered under the imperial displeasure. Ho, Moo, Ssoo and Quang, were degraded and deprived of their offices. Ssoo lost the 'feather in his cap,' and was laid aside; but by special favour was made inspector of the emperor's tea, with a promise, if he behaved well, of being restored in eight years; he was then upwards of seventy. Ho lost his appointments, his title, and his yellow riding-jacket, and Moo was entirely laid aside. The faithful Chang and his colleague Yin did not escape; but it was some consolation that they still attended the embassy down the Pei-ho.

Mr. Ellis says 'the English gentlemen who were witnesses to these transactions must have found great difficulty in restraining their indignation from proceeding to action, at the brutal rudeness and insulting demeanour with which the representative of their sovereign was treated.' We wish that he could teach some of the 'English gentlemen' at home to distinguish between *ceremony* and *submission*; and not to be quite so ready to condemn what they do not appear to comprehend. To those who, in their zeal for the degradation of their country, condemn, as misplaced pride, the resistance of the ambassador to the humiliation attempted to be exacted from him,—we would take the liberty of suggesting, that it was this kind of pride, which, in the early days of England's history, raised her reputation in foreign courts, gained for her commerce substantial advantages, and made her alliance an object of solicitude. Sir Jerom Bowes, who (incredible as it may now appear) was proud of being the guardian of his sovereign's and his country's honour, was sent to Mosco as ambassador from Queen Elizabeth to the Emperor Jan Vasilovich: on entering the presence chamber, he was desired by the emperor to take his seat at ten paces distance, and send to him her majesty's letter and present; Sir Jerom, 'thinking this not reasonable,' stepped forwards towards the emperor, but was intercepted by the chancellor, who would have taken his letters; to whom the ambassador said, 'that her majesty had directed no letters to him;' and so went forward, and delivered them himself to the emperor's own hands. In the course of his mission, however, he offended the emperor, 'because he would not yield to every thing

he

he thought fit,' who, with a stern and angry countenance told him, 'that he did not reckon the Queen of England to be his fellow.' Upon which Sir Jerom, 'disliking these speeches,' and unwilling to suffer this autocrat 'to derogate from the honour and greatness of her majesty,' boldly told him to his face, 'that the Queen his mistress was as great a prince as any was in Christendom, equal to him that thought himself the greatest, and well able to defend herself against the malice of any whomsoever.' The emperor on this was so enraged that he declared 'if he were not an ambassador, he would throw him out of doors.' Sir Jerom replied coolly, 'that he was in his power, but he had a mistress who would revenge any injury done unto him.' The emperor, unable to bear it longer, bade him 'get home;' when Sir Jerom, 'with no more reverence than such usage required, saluted the emperor and departed.' This, too, was 'pride,'—but what was the result of it? No sooner was the ambassador gone, and the Emperor's rage somewhat abated, than 'he commended the ambassador before his council, because he would not endure one ill word to be spoken against his mistress, and therewithal wished himself to have such a servant.' After this, Sir Jerom was treated with such high distinction, and obtained such great privileges for the English nation, that Jan Vasilovich was henceforth named by his enemies 'the English emperor.'

Mr. Ellis gives full credit to the soundness of Sir George Staunton's opinion (supported as it was by that of the factory) of the ill effects which were likely to result from compliance, and to his firmness in maintaining that opinion; it is with regret therefore we observe that he still seems to think it might have been expedient to comply with the odious ceremony, which he himself has admitted (p. 153) to be, 'in its form and intention, expressive of *homage and inferiority*,' though he must be satisfied (indeed it was afterwards ascertained) that a week's confinement at Hai-tien, half a dozen puppet-shews, and a cup of bean-milk from the imperial table, were the only equivalents intended for a compromise of the honour and dignity of the British sovereign. But the value of his opinion is greatly diminished by a candid, though we think rather an indiscreet, avowal that, 'as he undertook the voyage to these distant seas more for profit than reputation, he cannot but regret that he has lost the opportunity of bringing his venture into the market.'—(p. 227.) We consider, with Mr. Ellis, the absurd pretensions and hyperbolic declarations of universal supremacy, and their conversion of an ambassador into a *tribute-bearer*, too ridiculous to influence a public proceeding; they are unworthy of notice, much more so of discussion; these are *their* acts: but a compliance with the ceremony—that sign and seal of 'homage

and inferiority'—would have involved Lord Amherst as a *particeps criminis*, and the consequence would have been not only loss of private 'profit and reputation,' but of national character also. Had the Chinese succeeded in their endeavours to bend the heads of the 'turbulent English' to the ground, and thus sealed their vassalage, this act of 'homage and inferiority' would have ensured the local authorities of Canton against all future resistance to oppression, and rendered remonstrance completely nugatory. When therefore we admit, with Mr. Ellis, that the absurd pretensions of the Chinese to 'supremacy,' and their demand of 'homage,' may be 'ridiculous,' we are far from admitting that a compliance with that demand may or can be *innocent*, which seems to be the jet of his argument in page 153. The French government considered the assumption, by the sovereigns of England, of the title of 'King of France,' as a pretension unworthy of its serious notice; but would a French ambassador have been justified in performing any act of homage, in acknowledgment of it? Lord Macartney had clearly this distinction in view. He considered it beneath his notice to resent the inscription of the words, 'Tribute-bearer,' displayed in large characters on the flag of his own barge; he objected not to receive the Emperor's letter addressed to his sovereign, though it bore the title of 'a mandate.' Such vain and empty pretensions he only laughed at, so long as no attempt was made to render him a party to them; but, when they proceeded to propose to him the ceremony of submission, although the ground on which it is required was not, as in the case of Lord Amherst, openly avowed, he instantly made his stand; and, in order to provide against the possibility of a misunderstanding, took care to insist upon an act of reciprocity on the part of the Chinese, as the indispensable and only condition of his compliance.

Mr. Ellis seems to think that their inflexible perseverance was owing to the personal character of the emperor, who is stated to be capricious, weak and timid. It is by no means impossible, he conceives, that the late civil commotions, which endangered not only his throne but his life, may have rendered him averse from dispensing with a homage that has so direct a tendency to maintain his dignity in the eyes of his own subjects. In the course of their journey southwards, the faithful *Quang* let them a little into the sort of public life passed by the emperor.

'The son of heaven is the victim of ceremony; he is not allowed to lean back in public, to smoke, to change his dress, or in fact to indulge in the least relaxation from the mere business of representation. It would seem that, while the great support of his authority is the despotism of manner, he himself is bound with the same chain that holds together the political machine; he only knows freedom in his inner

apart-

apartments, where probably he consoles himself for public privations, by throwing aside the observance of decency and dignity.'—(p. 307.)

It is impossible not to be struck with the difference in the conduct of the Chinese towards Lord Macartney's embassy. On that occasion not a word occurred about the ceremony till it had reached Tong-choo, and it was then delicately brought forward by an allusion to the 'inconvenience of tight knee-buckles and garters.' Lord Macartney easily parried this thrust; but, finding it a point on which the immediate attendants had set their hearts, he told them, that although he felt the strongest desire to do whatever he thought would be most agreeable to the emperor, yet that, being the representative of the first monarch of the western world, *his* dignity must be the measure of his conduct; that however, he would have no objection to conform to their etiquette, provided a person of equal rank with himself should be appointed to perform the same ceremony before his sovereign's picture, which he should be required to perform before the emperor; and this proposal he put in writing and transmitted to the emperor at Gehol; after which the subject was scarcely mentioned: the reciprocal compliment was declined; and Lord Macartney was admitted to the presence of his imperial majesty with no other marks of reverence and respect than those with which he had been accustomed to approach his own sovereign. Lord Macartney, however, was more fortunate than Lord Amherst in escaping the yellow screen and the five clawed dragon of Tien-sing, where all the misfortunes of the latter originated.

Whatever may have been the real cause of Lord Amherst's failure, the effects of the imperial displeasure were rapidly communicated through every part of the empire. A beggar at Tong-choo, standing up as Lord Amherst passed him, was instantly ordered by a mandarin to sit down, 'the British ambassador not being now considered deserving of respect, even from the lowest class of society.' There were now no soldiers to clear the way; no men with lights to point out the road; the quarters which they had occupied before their departure were shut up; and the triumphal gateway taken down; 'marking,' says Mr. Ellis, 'our fallen fortunes.' In the same spirit, the viceroy of Canton had made preparations to forward the embassy to the Alceste in Macao roads, by the back passage, without suffering it to call, much less to stop, at Canton: a seasonable chastisement, however, from that frigate made him change his plan, and issue his *permission* for her to come up the river, (after she *was* up,) as the *Lion* had done on a former occasion. Mr. M'Leod's account of the Alceste passing the forts will be read with interest. It was an awful responsibility on the part of Captain Maxwell, while a British ambassador was in the hands of an unprincipled government; but the

insult to the British flag left him no alternative, and in balancing between it and the personal hazard of the king's representative, his judgment and decision are entitled to the highest praise. He formed a just estimate of the pusillanimous character of the people, and taught them a lesson which will not soon be forgotten. We have a letter from an intelligent French missionary, who has long resided in Pekin, in which he notices the great alarm of the government since the departure of the ambassador, lest the English should visit their 'base treatment, as he calls it, with their vengeance, which it is fully sensible they have the power to do.' The dread of this will produce a more salutary effect than if Lord Amherst had been as liberal of his *ko-tous* as Titsing and Van Braam.

Insolence and pusillanimity seem to be the ruling characteristics of this singular people; they pervade all ranks, from the highest to the lowest. Without going farther for examples we have an instance related by Mr. M'Leod which greatly amused us. A Chinese interpreter had been sent on board the *Alceste* by the Canton mandarins, who in a high and domineering tone required the ship to be immediately anchored; declaring that if she presumed to pass the batteries, she would be instantly sunk. The captain coolly told him, that he would not only pass the batteries, but hang him afterwards at the yard-arm, for daring to bring so impudent a message on board a British man-of-war. As soon as the cannonade commenced, the interpreter slunk below; but when all was quiet, conceiving that, as the first part of the captain's threat had been fulfilled, the performance of the second, in which he was so much interested, would speedily follow, he crept upon deck, and, prostrating himself at full length, kissed the captain's feet, and begged for mercy. At that moment the order was given 'to stand by the larboard guns for Tiger island,'—on which the poor linguist, putting on a most rueful countenance, exclaimed, 'What! no hab done yet?' and without waiting for an answer, began to wring his hands, groaned heavily, and dived again to the bottom of the ship. We must now attend Mr. Ellis on his journey.

The first impressions received from the appearance of the people, on the landing of the embassy at Ta-koo, were far from being favourable. Mr. Ellis, bearing in mind what he had observed in other parts of Asia, was not, he says, particularly struck with the absence of clothing which is so apt to attract the notice of an European; but even *he* was not prepared for that total want of decency which the trackers of the boats, in number about five hundred, exhibited. It could not arise from poverty, for they had clothes; but instead of covering those parts of the body which decency requires, they merely threw their jackets over their shoulders, from whence they were naked downwards.—Lord Macartney observed them to be naked from the waist upwards. The trackers
are,

are, in fact, little better than galley-slaves, either impressed into the service, or condemned to it for some crime. They are described, in another part of the country, by Mr. Ellis, as the refuse of the species; 'deformed, diseased, emaciated, and covered with rags, at once objects of compassion and disgust.' (p. 251.) When Lord Macartuey landed at the same spot, the appearance of the people seems to have struck him in a more favourable point of view. After describing the men as well-looking, well-limbed, robust, and muscular, 'I was so much pleased with their appearance,' says his lordship, 'that I could scarcely refrain from crying out, with Shakespeare's *Miranda*,

Oh, wonder!

How many goodly creatures are there here.'

Mr. Ellis is less poetical, and probably therefore more correct. As they advanced, however, the people seemed to improve; 'the majority were clean and decently dressed, and their appearance bespoke them to be well fed;' and he asserts, from his own knowledge, and we entirely concur with him, that China, compared with other countries of Asia, presents an aspect of great prosperity.

'I have been much struck in all Chinese towns and villages with the number of persons apparently of the middle classes; from this I am inclined to infer a wide diffusion of the substantial comforts of life, and the consequent financial capacity of the country. However absurd the pretensions of the Emperor of China may be to universal supremacy, it is impossible to travel through his dominions without feeling that he has the finest country within an imperial ring-fence in the world.'—p. 323.

Mr. Ellis and his comrades discovered, however, at a very early period of their acquaintance with the Chinese, that filth and stench pervaded all ranks. 'We have all had reason,' he says, 'to concur with Mr. Barrow's description of the Chinese as a frowsy people; the stench arising from the numbers on board was not sensible only but oppressive.' (p. 74.) To get rid of this disagreeable part of their character at once, we shall transcribe Mr. Ellis's account of a bath near the temple of Kwan-yin, within one of the gates of Nankin, the old capital of China.

'Near this temple is a public vapour-bath called, or rather miscalled, the bath of fragrant water, where dirty Chinese may be stewed clean for ten *chens*, or three farthings: the bath is a small room of one hundred feet area, divided into four compartments, and paved with coarse marble; the heat is considerable, and as the number admitted into the bath has no limits, but the capacity of the area, the stench is excessive; altogether I thought it the most disgusting cleansing apparatus I had ever seen, and worthy of this nasty nation.'—p. 301.

The diet of the Chinese is characterized by 'greasy insipidity.' Insipid however as it may be, we will venture to say, that no alder-

man at a civic feast could possibly play off his knife and fork to better purpose, than a mandarin, at his solitary meal, his little chop-sticks:—but we doubt the fact; we should rather say, that their food in general is prepared with stimulants of too pungent a nature, and that their various soups, gravies, jellies, soys, and other condiments are too highly seasoned. The poor, it is true, feed miserably enough, and are too happy to obtain rats, cats, dogs, and other animals, which we are in the habit of considering as nauseous; and sometimes, we doubt not, passengers in the barges are ‘infested,’ as Mr. Ellis was, ‘by a most diabolical stench, proceeding from a choice preparation of stinking fish;’ but it might also happen that his olfactory nerves would sometimes be offended ‘by an agreeable companion in a stage-coach,’ even in England.

If any thing can compensate for the want of cleanliness, we know of nothing more likely than orderly conduct, good humour, and civility, all of which the common people of China possess in an eminent degree. ‘In passing through the streets, it was impossible not to be struck with the silence and regularity of the crowds of spectators; although every countenance expressed curiosity, scarcely an observation was made; there was no pointing with fingers; and though the streets may be said to have been lined with soldiers at inconsiderable intervals, the exercise of their authority did not seem necessary to maintain tranquillity.’ (p. 101.) Again, ‘A ready disposition to laugh, even though they themselves or their manners be the subject of the joke, is the best quality I have observed among the Chinese, and I find it difficult to separate this habitual cheerfulness from those other moral qualities with which it is usually connected.’ (p. 382.) Mr. Ellis thought the people of Naukin less civil than elsewhere, and observes, ‘I confess that hitherto I have found the lower orders universally well behaved and good humoured. The Chinese are naturally cheerful, and, from this circumstance, with ready submission to authority, must be governed with more facility than any other nation.’ (p. 307.) ‘The lower orders, though curious, are by no means intrusive or impertinent; and the complaints made of their treatment of Europeans would seem confined to Canton.’ (p. 77.)

The approach of the embassy to Tien-sing afforded a very striking exemplification of the decent and orderly conduct of the vast multitudes assembled on that occasion.

‘It is very difficult to describe the exact impression produced on the mind by the approach to Tien-sing. If fine buildings and striking localities are required to give interest to a scene, this has no claims: but on the other hand, if the gradual crowding of junks till they become innumerable, a vast population, buildings though not elegant yet regular and peculiar, careful and successful cultivation, can supply those defi-

deficiencies, the entrance to Tien-sing will not be without attractions to the traveller. The pyramids of salt, covered with mats, the dimensions and extent of which have been so ingeniously estimated by Mr. Barrow, are the most striking objects. We were two hours and a half passing from the beginning of the line of houses on the right bank of the river to our anchorage. A salute was fired from a small fort; and nearly opposite, troops were drawn up. Among them were matchlock men, wearing black caps. We observed some companies dressed in long yellow and black striped garments, covering them literally from head to foot; they are intended to represent tigers, but certainly are more likely to excite ridicule than terror; defence, from the spread of their shields, would seem their great object. A short distance from our anchorage, we passed on our left the branch of the river leading to the canal, and thence to Canton. The excess of population was here most striking. I counted two hundred spectators upon one junk, and these vessels were innumerable. The pyramids of salt were so covered with them, that they actually became pyramids of men. Some crowds of boys remained standing above their knees in the water for near an hour to satiate their curiosity. A more orderly assemblage could not, however, I believe, be presented in any other country; and the soldiers had but seldom occasion to use even threatening gestures to maintain order. I had not before conceived that human heads could be so closely packed; they might have been by screws squeezed into each other, but there was often no possible vacancy to be observed. All these Chinese spectators were exposed, bareheaded, to the rays of the mid-day sun, when the thermometer in the shade stood at eighty-eight. Females were not numerous in the crowd, and these generally old, and always of the lower orders. The Chinese are, to judge from the inhabitants of Tien-sing, neither well-looking nor strongly made; they are rather slight, but straight, and of the middle height'—pp. 85, 86.

With all these good qualities, it must be confessed that the government has contrived to render them generally destitute of kindly feelings towards each other. There is no reason, indeed, to doubt that, in his own family, a Chinese is kind and affectionate; but his philanthropy seldom extends beyond it: in China self-love and social are *not* the same. The frequency and brutality of corporal punishment may have a tendency to harden the heart, and make it indifferent to human suffering. To say nothing of the bamboo, which is perpetually at work, the *kang*, or wooden collar, is a most barbarous mode of punishment, and face-slapping, of which we never heard before, is peculiarly harsh and degrading: it is thus described by Mr. Ellis. It was 'inflicted with a short piece of hide, half an inch thick; the hair of the culprit was twisted till his eyes almost started from their sockets, and on his cheeks, much distended, the blows were struck,—the executioners seemed to delight in his sufferings.'—p. 82. Mr. Ellis witnessed an instance of this want of fellow-feeling on the occasion of a Chinese falling from
his

his own junk into the Grand Canal, and being drowned. 'The Chinese would not make the least effort to save their companion, and seemed to regret that the perseverance of one of the ambassador's guard and of our servants had succeeded in recovering the body.' 'For the sake of human nature,' he adds, 'we will hope that their inactivity proceeded rather from the responsibility, in cases of sudden death, attached to the by-standers, than from real indifference: for, according to the criminal code of China, the last person seen in the company of the deceased is held accountable for the manner of his death.'—p. 249.

Mr. M'Leod mentions another instance of a more criminal indifference, which, however, was accompanied with so marked a feeling of gratitude on the part of the poor creature who owed his life to strangers, that we cannot refrain from giving it here. One night, while the *Alceste* was lying in the river of Canton, the shrieks were heard of some people in the water; a boat was immediately pushed off to their assistance, and, directed by their cries, picked up in succession three Chinese. At this time a number of junks were moving up under easy sail; several of which passed within a few fathoms of these people who were bawling for help; and although they could, says Mr. M'Leod, without the slightest difficulty, have saved the whole, yet they continued their course, the crews standing upon deck, and viewing their struggles with the most callous indifference. They had been crossing the river in a little sampan or boat; and were run down by one of these junks, who took no further notice of them: the wife and child of one of the men, being unable to swim, were drowned. The three survivors were put on shore early next morning, and shortly after one of them returned on board with a present of three wild ducks, which he presented on his knees to the officer who had saved him. The people of the *Alceste* were so pleased 'with this appearance of heart and gratitude, where so little was expected, that they gave him money and provisions, and allowed him, while they remained, to come on board with fish and other articles for sale.'—p. 157.

The mandarins, *Van* and *Chou*, who attended Lord Macartney's embassy, evinced no want either of heart or gratitude, to use Mr. M'Leod's terms; they lingered with their new friends till the sailing of the ships, and on bidding a last farewell, they were so deeply affected as to shed tears: and the following instance of humanity and disinterested generosity, which has rarely been surpassed, ought, in justice, to redeem the national character from the charge of general profligacy so frequently brought against it.

About three years ago, at a public dinner given by some East India ship-owners, the conversation turned on the dishonesty and immorality of the Chinese, and many stories were told in proof
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of it. The late Mr. John Lock, of Walthamstow, observed, how very unjust it was to stigmatize a whole nation for the vices of a few; that it was true rogues were to be found among the Chinese, as well as among all nations; 'but,' added he, 'I have known characters among them who were an honour to human nature;—for instance, there was Shai-king-quah, the Hong merchant, who behaved in so generous a manner to poor Anderson.' The story seemed to be familiar to many of the gentlemen present, but as we, among others, did not know it, Mr. Lock was requested to relate the circumstances, which he did nearly in the following words:—'The Hong merchant had known Mr. Anderson intimately and had large transactions with him. Mr. Anderson met with heavy losses, became insolvent, and, at the time of his failure, owed his Chinese friend upwards of eighty thousand dollars. Mr. Anderson wished to come to England in the hope of being able to retrieve his affairs; he called on the Hong merchant, and in the utmost distress explained his situation, his wishes, and his hopes. The Chinese listened with anxious attention, and having heard his story thus addressed him—"My friend Anderson, you been very unfortunate—you lose all—I very sorry—you go to England—if you more fortunate there, you come back and pay—but, that you no forget Chinaman friend, you take this, and when you look on this, you will remember Shai-king-quah;"—in saying these words, he pulled out a valuable gold watch, and gave it to Anderson.

'Mr. Anderson took leave of his friend; but he did not live to retrieve his affairs or to return to China. When the account of his death, and of the distress in which he had left his family, reached Canton, the Hong merchant called on one of the gentlemen of the factory who was about to return to Europe, and addressed him in the following manner—"Poor Mr. Anderson dead—I very sorry—he good man—he friend—and he leave two child—they poor—they have nothing—they child of my friend—you take this for them—tell them Chinaman friend send it,"—and he put into the gentleman's hand a sum of money for Mr. Anderson's children amounting to several hundred pounds.' We have only to add, that the story made a strong impression on all present, and Mr. Lock in relating it was so much affected that his eyes filled and his voice thickened.

Mr. Ellis has no high respect for the mandarins, as, in conformity with common usage, he calls the public functionaries. Those who first visited the ambassador on board the *Alceste*, it would seem, savoured not of amber, as Marrall says; 'their dresses, too, were common; and their general appearance was neither respectable nor elegant.' The mandarin of Mr. Ellis's boat is described as '*le mandarin le plus bête de sa paroisse*;' and though laughter, while engaged in some childish game, threw more expression into his

his countenance (the author adds) than usual, 'it was still so mixed with dulness that the effect was altogether more ludicrous than I think I ever before witnessed; it was the expounded radiance of silliness, and would have formed a capital subject for a painter.' It would puzzle a painter, we suspect, even with the original before him, to sketch a set of features which should represent 'the expounded radiance of silliness.' The following portrait is more distinctly marked.

'Our present mandarin is the first Chinese officer able to read and write with facility, who has been attached to the boat; he is, however, totally unprovided with books, and he passes his time in the same idle gazing as his predecessors: of his philosophy he truly makes no use. Whatever be the size or corpulency of mandarins, they have generally a womanish appearance, I had written effeminate, but as they have nothing slight or delicate about them, the epithet would not be applicable; perhaps I should say a total absence of manliness. The sketch is from life: our mandarin, six feet high, weighing at least fifteen stone, is before me, looking like an overeating cook or housekeeper.'—p. 313.

We had conceived, on what we considered good authority, that drunkenness, at least, was not to be numbered in the catalogue of Chinese vices. Mr. Ellis, however, says that 'drunkenness, unaccompanied with exposure, is regarded as a venial offence; and that it is not unusual to compliment a man upon the hardness of his head or the capacity of his stomach, by saying he has a large wine-measure.'—p. 60. It is proper, however, to mention, that these observations were entered in Mr. Ellis's 'diary' before he had set foot in China, and on the authority of the experience of Europeans of Canton at the tables of the Hong merchants, which is, in fact, no authority at all. We do not think that his own experience bears him out in this opinion; nor that, because *Chang* did not drink wine, but 'preferred raspberry-vinegar, and water,' and the Chinese in general 'like our sweet wines and cordials better than those more usually consumed by ourselves,' Mr. Ellis is, therefore, justified in supposing 'them to be scarcely less addicted to the use of spirituous liquors than Europeans;' and that 'it is only their superior sense of decorum that prevents them from exhibiting themselves as often in public under the influence of intoxication.'—p. 197. If the fact be so, there is some merit even in this; but we doubt it.

A passing stranger has few opportunities of seeing much of the female sex in China; on the present occasion the Chinese ladies seem to have kept farther in the back-ground than on the former embassy: there was, in fact, a provincial proclamation stuck up along their route, prohibiting women from appearing in the streets and exposing themselves to the gaze of the barbarians; 'the populace

pulace on each bank of the river (it said) are not allowed to laugh and talk with the foreigners, nor are women and girls allowed to shew their faces.' (App. No. 9.) 'In vain,' says Mr. Ellis; 'female curiosity was not to be overcome even by the apprehensions of incurring the displeasure of the son of heaven.' In the streets of *Gan-king-foo*, the women shewed themselves at the doors, and some had no reason to be ashamed of their looks: 'from their gestures and appearance I should imagine that they were prouder of their beauty than their modesty.' (p. 329.) Mr. Ellis observes, that Chinese women hold themselves remarkably upright; that even the old women seldom stoop; and he conjectures that, as cramping the feet is so general that no exception occurred, their uprightness may be owing to the smallness of the base on which they stand. This observation is, we believe, perfectly original, and, we are persuaded, is the true explanation of the fact. A boor, supported on the broad basis of a pair of wooden shoes, can afford to stoop, but a Chinese lady, standing on a pivot, would be in danger of toppling over, if her upper half inclined ever so little beyond the centre of gravity. How so unnatural, and, to us at least, so disgusting a practice could ever have been introduced, much less established, we cannot pretend to conjecture. The reasons assigned for an absurd custom are most likely to be themselves absurd, and such are those offered by the Chinese. In fact they know nothing about it. Lord Macartney pressed his friend *Chou-ta-jin* very closely on the subject, but all he could get from him was, that 'it was an ancient custom:' he admitted, however, that it might possibly have taken its rise in oriental jealousy; 'which,' says his lordship, 'has always been ingenious in its contrivances for securing the ladies to their owners, and might plausibly suggest, that a good way of keeping them at home was to make it very painful to them to gad abroad.'

As the little feet of Chinese ladies will not allow them to 'gad abroad,' and as beasts of burden are not in common use, they have frequently recourse to a kind of vehicle, at which our farmers' daughters would be very apt to 'toss up their noses.' This is neither more nor less than what we should call a wheel-barrow, to which are usually yoked a pair of bipeds, one dragging before and the other thrusting behind. The former is sometimes saved by the substitution of a mat or piece of rag between two poles which acts as a sail when the wind is favourable. Mr. Ellis was not lucky enough to see any machine of this kind *under way*, though the embassy crossed those

————— 'barren plains

Of Sericana, where Chineses drive

With sails and wind their cany waggons light'—

but he met one of them near *Nan-chang-foo*, freighted with two well-

well-dressed ladies, sitting one on each side the wheel—'a strange visiting conveyance,' as he calls it. Sometimes they are carried about in a kind of litter suspended between two asses, one before and the other behind; but most commonly in sedan chairs, of which the Chinese have great variety. We have no means of knowing whether the ladies are often indulged with these pleasant airings; we suspect, however, with Mr. Ellis, that their subjection to their husbands is less than what has usually been described; that they have a will of their own at home; and that their seclusion is as much the effect of a supposed moral propriety as of restraint. The heroine of the *Han-kiau-tchuan*, in which the manners of the Chinese are painted to the life, is under no restraint but what the rules of female decorum impose; and the good lady in the Chinese drama of 'An Heir in his Old Age' is not only complete mistress but master also of the whole family.

Mr. Ellis is disposed (notwithstanding his frequent notice of the almost continuous line of towns and villages, and the 'superabundant swarms' of inhabitants which they poured out wherever the embassy passed) to think that the population of China is by no means so great as has been stated, and that it does not exceed the quantity of land under actual cultivation, while much land capable of tillage is left neglected. He has been informed, he says, that the most accurate Chinese accounts state the amount of the population considerably below two hundred millions. (p. 432). The 'accurate Chinese accounts' to which he alludes, are to be found, we apprehend, in Mr. Morrison's translation of a statistical account taken by order of the present Emperor *Kia-king*, which makes the total population, including the Tartar banners, to amount to about one hundred and forty-five millions. There is reason, however, to think, that the Chinese census is drawn up in a very imperfect manner. In 1743 the amount of the population, taken by order of *Kien-lung*, was found to be about 142,000,000, which *Grozier* swells, by adding those exempt from taxation, to 157,000,000. Again, a census was taken in the years 1760 and 1761; the aggregate of which, in the former, is stated to be 196,837,977, and in the latter, 198,214,553, making an annual increase of 1,376,576 souls. Whether these numbers are over-stated or not, we pretend not to determine; but if Mr. Ellis alludes to the gross number, given to Lord Macartney by one of the mandarins, of 333,000,000, we have very little hesitation in saying that it neither is nor can be any thing like the truth; in the first place, the numbers in all the provinces are given in round millions, and, secondly, in two of them the numbers are precisely the same. Mr. Ellis, we doubt not, is right with regard to the quantity of land left untilled; for, supposing the census to be correct, the population

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(which is extended over a surface of 1,500,000 square miles) would not exceed ninety persons to a square mile:—but any estimate formed of the population of a country from a hurried passage through it in a straight line, must be altogether unworthy of notice.

Mr. Ellis finds in China more beggars than we should have thought to exist from former accounts, and many of them were very importunate in soliciting alms from their own countrymen; from those belonging to the embassy, however, they neither solicited nor seemed to expect any thing. It appears also that they are no mean adepts at their trade, for some of them carry a bell or a horn, and a basket; and ‘establishing themselves in a shop, they ring the one, or blow the other, till the basket is filled.’

All travellers seem to agree in the grossness and childishness of the dramatic representations of these people; but none have satisfactorily explained the reason of their miserable puppet-shows being exhibited before foreign ambassadors, while it is known that they have regular tragedies and comedies which are constantly represented at their own feasts and entertainments. In the ‘Brief View’ of the Chinese drama, prefixed to the ‘Heir in his Old Age,’ it is conjectured that their contempt for foreigners may induce them to deem these noisy pantomimes suitable to the standard of their visitors’ taste or mental capacity, or, at any rate, quite good enough for them. Perhaps, this is too severely said. A regular drama in the Chinese language would be unintelligible to foreigners; but they might be supposed to derive some amusement from the extravagancies of the wildest pantomime, which address themselves principally to the eye: but another idea occurs to us—as, in these exhibitions, men appear under the form and character of different animals, the fondness of the Tartars for hunting may have introduced these scenical representations, as allusive to that diversion. On the present occasion, Mr. Ellis says,

‘The part of a stag was the best performed in the piece, and when in front of the stage, from the shelter afforded by a group of flag-bearers, and the consequent concealment of the boy’s legs, the illusion was sufficiently perfect. The instrumental music, from its resemblance to the bag-pipes, might have been tolerated by Scotchmen, to others it was detestable. Of the same description was the singing. Our admiration was justly bestowed upon the tumblers, who yield to none I have ever seen in strength and agility; their feats were executed with particular neatness. In splendour of appearance, the mandarins did not stand any competition with the actors, who were blazing with gold; it was suggested that their costumes were the ancient habits of the nation.’—(p. 103.)

Chung-qua, one of the Hong merchants at Canton, gave a dinner to the ambassador; and here were assembled crowds of players who treated

treated the guests with both tragedy and comedy. 'In the former,' says Mr. Ellis, 'emperors, kings, and mandarins strutted and roared to terrible perfection, while the coarse point of the latter seemed to consist in the streak of paint upon the buffoon's nose.' The noise of the actors and instruments, he adds, was 'infernal,' and 'the whole constituted a mass of suffering which I trust I shall not again be called upon to undergo.' Their military music would appear to be of the same 'infernal' character; 'myriads of cracked penny trumpets,' says Mr. Ellis, 'give the best idea of Chinese military music.'

Mr. Ellis has no great opinion of Chinese troops, but his account of the quickness and precision with which he saw some matchlock-men load and fire, and of the shooting of the bowmen at the target, conveys a higher notion of the Chinese military than we had culled from the accounts of former travellers. He had the good fortune to be present at an examination of candidates for military promotion. They were mounted on horseback and each had a bow and three arrows.

'The marks at which they fired, covered with white paper, were about the height of a man, and somewhat wider, placed at intervals of fifty yards; the object was to strike these marks successively with the arrows, the horses being kept at full speed. Although the bull's eye was not always hit, the target was never missed: the distance was trifling, not exceeding fifteen or twenty feet. It appeared to me that the skill was most displayed in charging the bow without checking the horse. The candidates were young Mandarins, handsomely dressed: their horses, trimmings, and accoutrements were in good order; the arrows were merely pointed, without barbs, to prevent accidents, the spectators being within a few yards of the marks. On the whole the sight was interesting, and I much regretted that the pressure of the crowd, and the possibility of giving offence by any interruption that might thence arise to the ceremony, compelled me to remain only a few minutes.'—pp. 354, 355.

We did not expect that Mr. Ellis would be able to communicate any new information respecting the religious opinions and establishments of the Chinese. He says, what we believe to be perfectly just, that religion sits very easy on them, and that it never deeply interests their passions; that the priests are taken from the lowest classes; that it is difficult to conceive a body more degraded, or indeed more deserving of degradation; and that an idiotic expression of countenance appeared to him to arise from the consciousness of belonging to such a profession: and he adds, that 'in their indifference to all the decencies of religion, contrasted with the multitudes of their temples and idols, the Chinese exhibit a striking peculiarity of national character;'—and in another place he observes, 'they have imported Buddhism, with

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its Shanscrit terms, from India, without, however, I believe, either understanding their meaning or the principles of their belief:’ and he thus sums up his observations on this subject—

‘Religion in China, although addressed in all directions to the eye, did not appear to have much influence upon the understanding or passions of the people. It has all the looseness and vanity, with less of the solemnity and decency, of ancient polytheism. Their temples are applied to so many purposes, that it is difficult to imagine how any degree of sanctity can be attached either to the dwellings or persons of their deities. The influence of superstition is, however, general and extensive; it is displayed in acts of divination, and in propitiatory offerings to local or patron deities. Its observances belong rather to the daily manners than to the moral conduct of the people.’—pp. 438, 439.

It appears to us that these remarks are calculated to convey erroneous notions respecting the state of religion in China, more especially as they regard the priesthood. The established religion is unquestionably that of Budh, which, whether it existed in Tartary and China previous to its appearance in India, or was imported from thence, fell in at least so completely with the feelings of the government and the habits of the people, the one hostile and the other unaccustomed to congregational worship, that on its revival, in the first century of the Christian era, it met with every kind of encouragement. It has not only been the adopted religion of the Chinese dynasties since that time, but is that which, with certain modifications, is universally spread over all the Tartar tribes, and professed by the Tartar family at present on the throne of China. Mr. Ellis will surely not maintain that the two hundred priests supported on the establishment of the temple of Fo at *Kao-ming-tse*, ‘at the annual charge on the imperial treasury of ten thousand dollars,’ are to be classed as belonging to a ‘degraded profession.’ Nor are we quite satisfied as to their ignorance of the principles which they profess; they know at least as much as their brethren in Hindostan; and it was the opinion of the elder De Guignes and Freret, who had opportunities of obtaining information on the subject, and who spared no pains to improve them, that if the Hindoos really had any thing of value in history, science, and general literature, before the Mahomedan invasion, it would most probably be found in the temples of the western province of Shensi, where, in one single library, they had ascertained the existence of more than five thousand volumes translated from the Sanscrit. There are besides a multitude of works in the Chinese language, which explain the birth, education, and doctrines of Budh or Fo, differing very little from one another, and agreeing generally with that system of faith which Pythagoras is supposed to have brought into Greece from the banks of the Indus. We have no doubt if

Mr. Ellis could have read 'the pamphlets which the priests offered for sale,' he would have found that they were not quite so ignorant of their creed as he has represented them. He may too have mistaken for 'an idiotic expression of countenance' the result of that abstraction from all worldly concerns, and constant endeavour to suspend all the faculties of the soul, which, according to the principles of their faith, fits it for a reunion with the deity from whence it originally emanated. The religion of Confucius was not essentially different from that of Budh; 'obedience to the will of heaven; to the emperor who is the son of heaven; to parents to whom we owe our birth; to make humble offerings to them all; to sacrifice to the spirits of the deceased; and to regulate and subdue the passions,' were the grand duties which he inculcated: and though the temples in his time were free from idolatrous worship as far as images were concerned, the belief in the influence of good and evil spirits, and of the *dii minores*, was then as universally extended as now, when their forms are exhibited to the eye of the devotee.

Many extraneous religions have at different times found their way into China. Mahomedans are known to have domiciliated themselves previously to the ninth century, and they are still found in all the provinces, exercising their religion in mosques of their own, and employed in offices of trust under the government, and in the army. From one of the followers of the prophet Mr. Morrison learned that, in the province of Kiang-nan, they had thirty-six mosques, in which service was performed in Arabic; and that they had never attempted to translate the Koran, or any other part of their ritual, into the Chinese language. The Jews are supposed to have established themselves in the province of Honan at a far earlier period. Mr. Morrison learned that at Kai-fung-foo there were a few families of them distinguished by the name of the 'sect which plucks out the sinews of the meat.' The Jews of London had written a letter, in the Hebrew language, which was forwarded to them from Canton, the year previous to the embassy, by a native of Honan. This travelling bookseller (for such was his occupation) said, on his return, that he had found a person at Kai-fung-foo who perfectly understood the contents of the letter, and assured him that he would procure an answer to it in a few days; but the troubles of the times and the rumours of a rebellion made the itinerant so apprehensive of his own safety, that he left Honan before he received it.

The emissaries of the catholic religion have been particularly unsuccessful, which is the more singular, as the ceremonies of the priests of Fo bear so striking an affinity to those of the church of Rome, that one of the missionaries was persuaded the devil must have instructed them for the express purpose of mortifying the Jesuits

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Jesuits. There were two points however which, without supposing, as some have done, that the good fathers were given to intermeddling with state-affairs, must have operated strongly against the propagation of their religion. The first is, the system of congregational worship, which is contrary to every principle of the Chinese government; especial care being taken to prevent all assemblies of the people. The second, confession; which is repugnant to the close and suspicious character of the nation. Besides, as Lord Macartney observes, 'a religion which requires that women should at stated times communicate to priests, in private, their thoughts and actions, must be particularly disgusting to a Chinese husband, who had not himself been suffered to see his wife till the day of his marriage.' The Jesuits noticed the difficulty, and submitted to the expediency of giving up the confession of women, the ceremonies of baptism, and of extreme unction; and when accused for it by the Dominicans at Rome were thus defended by P. Francisco Furtado, '*Valdè indecens est inter gentiles, multumque inhonestum, aperire pectus mulieribus, et illarum manus atque ora attingere. Quod si, ubique necessarium est, certè in China multo magis, ut ministri evangelici circumspecte se gerant cum mulieribus.*'

Differing, as we certainly do from Mr. Ellis, in many essential points respecting the Chinese, we are willing to give him full credit for his intentions to set down a candid and honest account of every thing that fell under his observation; his errors we conceive to be very few, and they are those of opinion; and in this respect he is not wholly, by his own confession, free from prejudice, having predetermined in his own mind that 'the Chinese are a most uninteresting nation.' We must, however, do him the justice to say that he never loses his temper, nor suffers his misfortunes and indignities to cloud his natural good humour. China, however, in our opinion, is far from being an 'uninteresting country.' It may, and certainly does, offer to the scrutinizing traveller a moral, political, and even local uniformity; all its objects are exhibited in great masses; great mountains, extensive plains, large lakes, rivers of the first magnitude, and a multitudinous population, of which it has been justly said, that 'all were melted in the same crucible, and cast in the same mould.' Yet in those masses might be found sufficient variety to exercise the mind of an inquisitive traveller. And although Mr. Ellis could discover nothing to eke out a description from 'men with little eyes and long tails,' and 'women with prettily-dressed hair but ugly faces,' which were 'the daily and unchanging objects,' yet we cannot bring ourselves to agree with him in thinking, that the most extensive, the most populous, and, for aught we know to the contrary, one of the most ancient empires on the face of the earth, can be wholly devoid of interest. With all the massive volumes

which have been written on China, we are still ignorant of the real state of domestic society, which the Catholic missionaries (and they only have had the means of observing it) have wholly overlooked: they have given us the theory of government, and the maxims of morality, which are supposed to regulate all conditions of men; but they have omitted to describe 'things as they are.' It was with the view of obtaining this species of information that induced Mr. Manning to pass ten years on the skirts of the empire with unavailing perseverance, in the hope of being able to domiciliate himself with this singular people, whom *he*, at least, must have considered to be 'interesting.'

We must now advert, more particularly, to the 'Narrative' of Mr. McLeod, from which we have already borrowed one or two interesting anecdotes. It is a plain, unpretending, straight-forward account of an eventful voyage, just such as we should expect from one who, from an early period of life, had passed his time in a king's ship. If the style of the work be not that of a man accustomed to composition, the story is told in clear and intelligible language; and taking it altogether, the book is of a nature as to excite, unless we have formed a wrong estimate of the public taste, no little degree of curiosity. It forms an interesting episode to the main history of Lord Amherst's embassy, completing, from personal observation, what could only have been given at second hand by Mr. Ellis. Of the multitude of well-known places at which the *Alceste* touched, till her loss by shipwreck in the straits of Gaspar, the author has the good taste to say little more than was necessary to preserve the continuity of the narrative; we therefore find ourselves at the head of the Yellow Sea in the twentieth page. There is, however, a detailed account of their intercourse with a singularly interesting people, whose kindness of disposition and amiable manners, whose generous and friendly hospitality and singleness of heart, are not to be matched, we verily believe, in the whole world besides.

The *Alceste*, having landed the embassy, stood across the gulf of Leatong, and so near the coast as to afford a view of the great wall of China, rising from the sea, and mounting hill above hill, till it finally disappeared among the highest and most distant mountains. Proceeding easterly, they anchored in a fine bay on the coast of Chinese Tartary: the natives crowded down to the shore, and the crippled feet of the ladies at once announced them to be Chinese. No public officer, civil or military, made his appearance, nor did they see any person of rank; they were, however, less rude and uncivil than the Chinese usually are to strangers. Their houses and gardens were neat, and there was an air of comfort about their villages, not always to be found in the more civilized parts of Europe.

Europe. There was no want of cattle, but they could purchase none, the inhabitants being wholly ignorant of the value of the Spanish dollar, (a coin which we had thought to be of universal circulation,) and our people having no articles of exchange about them, which the natives would accept as an equivalent.

From this place they steered across the gulf of Pe-tche-lee to the Chinese promontory of Shan-tung, where the people were 'inhospitably rude, and even the children were encouraged to be insolent and to throw stones.' From the coast of Shan-tung they again crossed over to the eastward, and on the 1st September anchored amidst a group of islands on the coast of Corea. The natives manifested, by signs and gestures, the greatest aversion to the landing of a party from the ships, making cut-throat motions by drawing their hands across their necks, and pushing the boats away from the beach; but they offered no serious violence. They, therefore, stood on; and, on the 3d, observed the sea to be studded with islands as far as the eye could reach from the mast head. The main land lay to the eastward, with a fine bay, in which the ships anchored. Here they were soon visited by a person in authority; he appeared to be about seventy years of age, of a venerable and majestic mien, his hair and beard were of a hoary whiteness. The Chinese interpreter whom they had on board could neither read nor write, and the people of the Korean archipelago could only write, and not speak a word of the Chinese language. A few characters which the old gentleman wrote on a slip of paper, being afterwards translated at Canton, were to this effect, 'I don't know who ye are—what business have ye here?' questions very natural for him to ask, and it is to be regretted that there was nobody who could answer them.

A party which landed on the beach were immediately surrounded by a concourse of people. The old chief was evidently distressed at their landing; he hung down his head, and clasped his hands in mournful silence: at length he burst into a fit of crying, and was supported by his attendants to a large stone, on which he sat down, looking back at the officers with the most melancholy aspect; his feelings appearing to be those of a man who imagined some great calamity was about to befall his country, and that he was the unhappy being under whose rule this misfortune had occurred. Captain Maxwell, perceiving the cause of his distress, recalled the people, who were proceeding towards the town, and endeavoured to explain to him that no injury was intended. The old gentleman then pointed to the sun, and describing, by signs, its revolving course four times, drew his hand across his throat, and dropping his chin upon his breast, shut his eyes as if dead: this was intelligible enough; and as the party had no inclination to force their way, they

they re-embarked, the old man following them on board, apparently much dejected, and as if ashamed that he could not shew them more attention.

This bay, to which our people gave the name of Basil, would be situated, according to our charts, about 120 miles in the interior of Corea:—of so much in width, along the western coast, has the present expedition curtailed the dominions of his Corean majesty; but, in lieu thereof, they have ascertained that, along the southern part of that coast, there exists an archipelago of more than a thousand islands, forming bays and harbours, in which all the navies of the world might ride in perfect security. His title therefore of 'King of ten thousand Isles' is not altogether an empty one. They are all apparently inhabited, generally high, rising like so many detached mountains each on its own basis out of the sea, and cultivated where practicable; the inhabitants crowded to the tops of the highest eminences to gaze at the ships as they sailed through them.

From the summit of one of these islands one hundred and thirty-five other islands were distinctly counted. Few of them exceeded in length three or four miles, and the spaces between them were from one to four miles. The women, on perceiving boats approach the land, fled with their infant children, and hid themselves in recesses among the rocks; whilst the men, in a body, but unarmed, hallooed to the strangers not to advance, making the same signal as the old chief had done, of drawing their hands across the throat. They afterwards became somewhat friendly, brought them water to drink, and offered them a part of their humble fare—then, as if suddenly recollecting that they were doing wrong in holding intercourse with barbarians, they would lay hold of some of the gentlemen by the shoulders, and push them away, pointing to the ship.—This is a very curious and unexpected discovery; and the surveys of Captain Maxwell, and Captain Hall of the *Lyra*, the latter of whom is particularly distinguished not only for nautical but general science, will form a very valuable addition to the geography and hydrography of the Yellow Sea.* The error in longitude of that part of the main land at which they touched was not less than $2^{\circ} 14'$.

In proceeding to the southward they passed close to a volcanic island, apparently not more than four or five miles in circumference, rising precipitously from the sea to the height of 1,200 feet. The surf broke with such tremendous violence that it was impossible to land, and the sulphurous smell was very strong, even at the dis-

* We rejoice to learn that Captain Hall is preparing for the press a narrative of these interesting discoveries, and particularly of the Lewchew islands, with nautical, hydrographical, and geological observations on a track which for the first time has been navigated by Europeans.

tance of two or three miles. They gave it the name of Sulphur island. Farther south they descried a large island, and, as the weather cleared up, a rich extent of cultivated scenery burst upon their view. 'Rising in gentle ascent from the sea, the grounds were disposed more like the finest country-seats in England than those of an island so remote from the civilized world.' It was the principal island of the Lewchew group, hitherto unvisited by any Europeans. They anchored in front of a town, where a number of vessels were seen lying in a harbour, the mouth of which was formed by two pier heads.

Thousands of the astonished natives, perched on the surrounding rocks and heights, gazed on the vessels as they entered. Several canoes, with official men in them, came along side, wishing to know who they were, and what was the purport of their visit. By means of the Chinese interpreter, whose language some of them understood, it was explained to them that the ships had sustained some damage in the late gales, on the opposite coast: and, to give a colour to this story, the sea water was let into the well, and the chain-pumps set to work, to the great amazement of these unsuspecting people, who appeared to sympathize with their misfortunes. The following morning a number of carpenters came on board, with the rude implements of their art, to give all possible assistance. It was signified to them that they had carpenters enough of their own, and that all they wished for was an asylum while the repairs were carrying on, and permission to purchase provisions and take on board fresh water.

An immediate supply of bullocks, hogs, goats, fowls, eggs, excellent sweet potatoes, fruit, vegetables, fire-wood, and even candles, followed this intimation; and these supplies, with plenty of excellent water, were regularly sent on board, when wanted, for six weeks; the chief authorities obstinately persisting to refuse any payment or remuneration whatever—a disinterested generosity, which was soon found to correspond with every part of the conduct of this admirable people.

In the course of a few days an intimation was received that a great personage intended to pay a visit on board the *Alceste*. He embarked at the mouth of the harbour amidst a vast concourse of people. He was about sixty years of age, with a venerable beard; his dress was a purple robe with loose sleeves, and a sash of red silk round his waist; he had sandals and white gaiters; and wore a cap neatly twisted into folds and covered with a light purple-coloured silk. A numerous suite of men in office and personal attendants accompanied him. The pumps were again set agoing, and every assistance was again promised.

After partaking of some refreshment, he took his leave, the cap-

tain having promised to return his visit the following day. Accordingly Captains Maxwell and Hall, with the officers, rowed up the harbour in state, and were met at the landing-place by the principal men of the town, each of whom, taking one of the officers by the hand, led him through the crowd of spectators to the gate of a public building, where the old gentleman attended to welcome them into the house. They sat down to a sumptuous entertainment, at which the utmost good humour prevailed, and many loyal and friendly toasts were given in a liquor called *chazzi*, which Mr. McLeod says resembled rosolio.

The regularity and decorum which prevailed among so many thousands as were collected together was very remarkable; they formed a lane; those in front being generally boys, mostly kneeling; behind these the second row squatted down; then the men, those who were nearest stooping; behind these again, and outside of all, were others, mounted on stones, or any thing which they could find to elevate them; so that all, without bustle or confusion, might have a view of the strangers: a dead silence prevailed, not even a whisper being heard. The women, it was supposed, had been sent out of the way; they contrived, however, to get to the opposite pier-head, and thus snatched an opportunity of gratifying their curiosity as the boats passed towards the ships.

From this moment the most perfect confidence was established between the two nations; the garden of a temple was given up for the accommodation of the ships' crews; the dwellings of the priests were surrendered for an hospital for the sick; temporary buildings were erected for the reception of the powder and stores; and the artificers were established on a convenient spot on the beach. Some spars being wanted, the natives immediately set about felling fir-trees, which they floated down the river and towed to the ships, chanting, as they rowed along, a plaintive air, which nevertheless had a pleasing effect.

Every day these interesting people gained ground in the estimation of their English visitors. They seemed to be gifted with a sort of natural politeness, so unrestrained, and so unstudied, that there was not a man in the ships that did not consider the people of Lewchew as his friends. A stronger proof of their conciliating manners and kindly dispositions could not possibly be given than is afforded by the following observation of Mr. McLeod.

'That proud and haughty feeling of national superiority, so strongly existing among the common class of British seamen, which induces them to hold all foreigners cheap, and to treat them with contempt, often calling them outlandish lubbers, in *their own country*, was, on this island, completely subdued and tamed, by the gentle manners and kind behaviour of the most pacific people upon earth. Although completely inter-

intermixed, and often working together, both on shore and on board, not a single quarrel or complaint took place on either side during the whole of our stay; on the contrary, each succeeding day added to friendship and cordiality.'—p. 98.

On the arrival of the ships at Lewchew they had many cases of severe sickness; and to the kindness of the natives Mr. M'Leod thinks may be attributed, in a great measure, their recovery. The invalids were not only comfortably lodged, but the higher class of people daily attended the hospital, inquiring into their wants, bringing eggs and delicacies to those whose cases more particularly required them, and paying a cheerful attention to the whole: 'theirs,' says Mr. M'Leod, 'was a substantial, not a cold or ostentatious charity.'

A young seaman, whose case had long been hopeless, died in the hospital. While his coffin was making, the natives dug a grave in a small burial ground under some trees near the landing place. To the astonishment of our people they found, next morning, a number of the principal inhabitants clad in deep mourning, (white robes with black or blue sashes,) waiting to attend the funeral. As the ship's company arranged themselves, two and two, immediately after the coffin, next the midshipmen, then the superior officers, and last of all the captains, as is usual in military ceremonies of this kind, these friendly creatures, who had been watching attentively this arrangement, observing the order of precedence to be inverted, with that unassuming modesty and delicacy which characterized all their actions, without the least hint being given, placed themselves in front of the coffin when the procession began to move, and in the same order marched slowly to the grave. They immediately began to erect a tomb over it; and on a stone, placed at the head, they cut, with great neatness, the following epitaph, which was drawn out with Indian ink, and explained to them, and with which they seemed to be highly gratified.

Here lies buried,
Aged twenty-one years, William Hares, Seaman,
Of His Britannic Majesty's Ship *Alceste*.

Died Oct. 15, 1816.

This Monument was erected

By the King

And Inhabitants

Of this most hospitable Island.

But their friendly attentions did not end here. The day after the interment they repaired to the tomb with their priests, and performed the funeral service according to the rites of their own religion.

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'There is not,' says Mr. M'Leod, 'an act of these excellent and interesting people which the mind has not pleasure in contemplating and recollecting. Not satisfied with having smoothed the path of death, they carried their kind regards even beyond the grave.'

They had no warlike instruments of any description; no weapons, offensive or defensive; and when they saw the effect of the English fowling pieces, they entreated that they would not kill the birds, which, they said, they were pleased with seeing about their houses; adding that if they wished to get them merely for the purpose of eating, they would supply them with plenty of fowls: of course, an order was immediately given to desist.

Towards the end of their sojourn on the island, it was intimated that a great man, the presumptive heir to the crown, intended to visit the ship. He embarked, in great state, amidst an immense concourse of people. Every possible honour was paid him by saluting, and manning the yards and rigging. He was richly dressed in silk, and in his deportment there was much dignified simplicity; his own people saluted him by kneeling, clapping the hands before the breast, and bowing the head. He examined every thing on board with minute attention, and, on taking leave, invited the captain and officers to an entertainment on shore. The day appointed happened to be the anniversary of our Sovereign's accession to the throne. A royal salute was fired, and the ships were dressed in colours. On landing, the prince received them at the gate and conducted them into the hall. There were three tables; one for the prince and two captains; one for the superior officers, and the third for the young gentlemen. It was a day of jubilee at Napafoo. The mutual healths of the two sovereigns were toasted, and the Lewchews, 'never,' says Mr. M'Leod, 'deficient in politeness, toasted the wives and children of the *Engelees*.'

The prince reconducted them to the landing place: on their reaching the vessel, they found that a great number of coloured paper lanterns had been sent on board to illuminate the ship at night, in honour of the King of England. Being placed in various parts of the rigging, they produced a beautiful and brilliant effect; and thousands of the natives collected along the shore to view the scene.

At length the period of their departure arrived. On the morning of that day the Lewchews, arrayed in their best apparel, proceeded to the temple, where a solemn sacrifice was offered to their gods, invoking them to protect the *Engelees*, to avert every danger, and to restore them in safety to their native land.

'In the manner of this adieu,' observes our author, 'there was an air of sublimity and benevolence combined, by far more touching to the heart

heart than the most refined compliment of a more civilized people. It was the genuine benignity of artless nature, and of primitive innocence.'

After this, those who had been most intimate with them crowded on board to shake hands and say 'Farewell,' whilst the tears which many of them shed evinced the sincerity of their attachment; as the ships got under weigh they lingered alongside in their canoes, displaying every sign of affectionate regard.

'We stood out to seaward, and, the breeze being favourable, this happy island soon sunk from the view; but it will long be remembered by all the officers and men of the *Alceste* and *Lyra*; for the kindness and hospitality of its inhabitants have fixed, upon every mind, a deep and lasting impression of gratitude and esteem.'

We could have dwelt with pleasure much longer on these interesting islanders if our limits would permit; but we must content ourselves with referring the reader to Mr. M'Leod; he will not be disappointed of his amusement; and, we are confident, will join with us in thanking the writer for making known an amiable people, of whom the only information we previously had was from Chinese authority, very rarely to be trusted.* According to this, the Lewchews date their fabulous history many thousand years before the creation; and their probable one, a few centuries before the Christian era: they became known to the Chinese about the year 600, received their written character and literature in 1187, and were made tributary to them in 1378. They send ambassadors every two years to the court of Peking.

The great island is about 50 miles long and 12 broad; not, as Mr. M'Leod says, 60 by 20; it is the principal one of a group of thirty-six, all subject to the same sovereign. The part visited by the ships is called Napa-kiang or Napafoo, and is only five miles from Kin-tching, the capital and residence of the king. Towards the northern extremity of the island is one of the finest harbours in the world, somewhat similar, but far superior, to Port Mahon. It was surveyed by Captain Hall, and named by him Port Melville. Captain Maxwell, we believe, used every means that prudence would allow to obtain an interview with the king, but this could not be granted, as he did not come in any official character. The king however wrote a letter to the Prince Regent in the Chinese character, which was unfortunately lost when the *Alceste* was wrecked. It was written in a tone of great humility; hoping that the attentions which had been shewn to the ships—'the great ship and her little child'—would be satisfactory to the king of the *Engelees*.

* This account is given in the 24th volume of the *Lettres Edifiantes*, from the report of a Chinese ambassador, who was sent thither in 1719, and the substance of it is also to be found in Grozier.

The Lewchews are a small race of people; the average height of the men not exceeding five feet two inches; but though small, they are sturdy, well-built, and athletic. They are as fair as the southern Europeans, and have no trace either of Indian or Chinese features. All the animal race is diminutive, but all excellent in their kind; the bullocks were plump and well conditioned, but they seldom exceeded in weight 350 pounds; goats and hogs were in the same proportion; the poultry forming the only exception.

The visit of our ships it is to be hoped may not prove wholly useless to these worthy people. Captain Hall had fortunately some English potatoes, which they were instructed how to plant; and Captain Maxwell left them a young bull and a cow of English breed; to these was added some wheat, which they promised to cultivate. Their fields were ploughed with much neatness and regularity, and their rice grounds irrigated with great ingenuity. The climate is so delightful, that productions of the vegetable kingdom, distinct in their nature and generally found in regions far distant from each other, grow here side by side. 'It is not merely,' says M'Leod, 'the country of the orange and the lime; but the banyan of India and the Norwegian fir, the tea-plant and the sugar-cane, all flourish together.'

The ships standing across to the south westward, soon reached Canton, and the *Alceste* having received on board the ambassador and suite, proceeded to Manila; and thence homewards: but, in passing through the straits of Gaspar, she struck on a sunken rock, and was totally wrecked; fortunately however all on board escaped to an uninhabited island in the middle of the strait. Very little provisions and scarcely any part of the baggage were saved. The good humour, the calm and manly fortitude, which marked the conduct of Lord Amherst on this trying occasion, afforded an example which never fails, in such cases, to have a powerful and beneficial effect. When Captain Maxwell, who was the last person that left the ship, got on shore, it was settled that Lord Amherst, with about forty of his suite, should go, in the barge and cutter, to Batavia, as the most probable way of ensuring their own safety, and that of their companions on the desolate island, by sending shipping from thence to take them off.

Mr. M'Leod gives a circumstantial and interesting narrative of the dangers, the anxieties, and privations of the party left behind. The blockade of the island, by the Malay pirates, whose proas ultimately accumulated to the number of sixty, added not a little to their distressed situation. These ferocious beings, Mr. M'Leod describes as a people of a most unprepossessing aspect: 'their bodies of a deep bronze colour, their black teeth and reddened lips, their gaping nostrils, and lank clotted hair hanging about their shoulders,

shoulders, and over their scowling countenances, gave them altogether a most fiend-like and murderous look. They are (he adds) an unjoyous race, and seldom smile.'

Sixteen days having elapsed and no relief from Batavia, absolute want staring them in the face on one hand, and destruction from the savages (who, to the number of six hundred, were closely pressing them) on the other, some desperate effort was to be made. The example of their leader kept up their spirits: no symptoms of depression had for a moment intruded themselves, and all was vigour and preparation either for attack or defence; the pirates but once gave an opportunity for the former, when Lieutenant Hay, 'a straight-forward sort of fellow,' overtook with his barge two proas, one of which was grappled by his crew, who killed three of the savages, while five more, evidently disdaining quarter, jumped overboard and drowned themselves: two were taken prisoners; but, such was the desperate ferocity of these people, that one of them, who had been shot through the body, on being removed into the barge with the view of saving him, furiously grasped a cutlass, which was with difficulty wrenched from his hand while in the very act of dying.

On the last evening of their abode on the island, they had every reason to suppose the savages meditated a combined attack. On this occasion, when the officers and men were assembled under arms to settle the watches, Captain Maxwell, with great animation, thus addressed them.

'My lads, you must all have observed this day, as well as myself, the great increase of the enemy's force, for enemies we must now consider them, and the threatening posture they have assumed. I have, on various grounds, strong reason to believe that they will attack us this night. I do not wish to conceal our real state, because I think there is not a man here who is afraid to face any sort of danger. We are now strongly fenced in, and our position in all respects so good, that, armed as we are, we ought to make a formidable defence against even regular troops: what then would be thought of us, if we allowed ourselves to be surprized by a set of naked savages, with their spears and creeses? It is true they have swivels in their boats, but they cannot act here. I have not observed that they have any matchlocks or muskets; but, if they have, so have we. I do not wish to deceive you as to the means of resistance in our power. When we were first thrown together on shore, we were almost defenceless; seventy-five ball-cartridges only could be mustered: we have now sixteen hundred! They cannot, I believe, send up more than five hundred men: but with two hundred such as now stand around me, I do not fear a thousand, nay, fifteen hundred of them! I have the fullest confidence that we shall beat them: the pikemen standing firm, we can give them such a volley of musketry as they will be little prepared for; and, when we find they are thrown into confusion, we'll sally out among them, chase them into the water, and ten to one but we secure their vessels. Let every man there-

therefore be on the alert with his arms in his hands; and, should these barbarians this night attempt our hill, I trust we shall convince them that they are dealing with Britons.'—p. 214.

This animated and truly characteristic speech was received, as might be expected, from a body of British seamen,—‘perhaps,’ says Mr. M’Leod, ‘three jollier hurras were never given than at the conclusion of this short, but well-timed address.’ The attack, however, did not take place; and the next day the long-expected relief from Batavia made its appearance, in the East India Company’s cruizer, the Ternate, dispatched by Lord Amherst, who, after passing three days and four nights in an open boat, had reached that city.

The conduct of Captain Maxwell, on this trying occasion, justly endeared him to all on board the *Alceste*, from the ambassador to the lowest seaman. ‘By his judicious arrangements,’ says Mr. M’Leod, ‘we were preserved from all the horrors of anarchy and confusion. His measures inspired confidence and hope; whilst his personal example, in the hour of danger, gave courage and animation to all around him.’

The *Cæsar*, a private ship, was hired at Batavia to bring home the embassy, and the officers and crew of the *Alceste*: besides them, it seems, she had two passengers of no ordinary description—the one an Ourang-Outang; the other a Boa snake, of the species known by the name of *Constrictor*. The former arrived safely in England, and sees company ‘at home’ every day at his mansion in the Strand; the other died of a diseased stomach, between the Cape and St. Helena, having taken but two meals from the time of his embarkation. ‘The first of these meals was witnessed by more than two hundred people; but there was something so horrid in the exhibition that very few felt any inclination to attend the second. The snake was about sixteen feet long and eighteen inches in circumference; he was confined in a large crib, or cage,—but we must give the dreadful relation in Mr. M’Leod’s own words.

‘The sliding door being opened, one of the goats was thrust in, and the door of the cage shut. The poor goat, as if instantly aware of all the horrors of its perilous situation, immediately began to utter the most piercing and distressing cries, butting instinctively, at the same time, with its head towards the serpent, in self-defence.

‘The snake, which at first appeared scarcely to notice the poor animal, soon began to stir a little, and, turning his head in the direction of the goat, it at length fixed a deadly and malignant eye on the trembling victim, whose agony and terror seemed to increase; for, previous to the snake seizing its prey, it shook in every limb, but still continuing its unavailing show of attack, by butting at the serpent, who now became sufficiently animated to prepare for the banquet. The first operation was that of darting out his forked tongue, and at the same time rearing a little his head; then suddenly seizing the goat by the fore leg with his mouth,

mouth, and throwing him down, he was encircled in an instant in his horrid folds. So quick, indeed, and so instantaneous was the act, that it was impossible for the eye to follow the rapid convulsion of his elongated body. It was not a regular *screw-like* turn that was formed, but resembling rather a knot, one part of the body overlaying the other, as if to add weight to the muscular pressure, the more effectually to crush his object. During this time he continued to grasp with his mouth, though it appeared an unnecessary precaution, that part of the animal which he had first seized. The poor goat, in the mean time, continued its feeble and *half-stifled* cries for some minutes, but they soon became more and more faint, and at last it expired. The snake, however, retained it for a considerable time in its grasp, after it was apparently motionless. He then began slowly and cautiously to unfold himself, till the goat fell dead from his monstrous embrace, when he began to prepare himself for the feast. Placing his mouth in the front of the head of the dead animal, he commenced by lubricating with his saliva that part of the goat; and then taking its muzzle into his mouth, which had, and indeed always has, the appearance of a raw lacerated wound, he *sucked it in*, as far as the horns would allow. These protuberances opposed some little difficulty, not so much from their extent as from their points; however, they also, in a very short time, disappeared; that is to say, externally; but their progress was still to be traced very distinctly on the outside, threatening every moment to protrude through the skin. The victim had now descended as far as the shoulders; and it was an astonishing sight to observe the extraordinary action of the snake's muscles when stretched to such an unnatural extent—an extent which must have utterly destroyed all muscular power in any animal that was not, like itself, endowed with very peculiar faculties of expansion and action at the same time. When his head and neck had no other appearance than that of a serpent's skin, stuffed almost to bursting, still the workings of the muscles were evident; and his power of suction, as it is erroneously called, unabated; it was, in fact, the effect of a contractile muscular power, assisted by two rows of strong hooked teeth. With all this he must be so formed as to be able to suspend, for a time, his respiration, for it is impossible to conceive that the process of breathing could be carried on while the mouth and throat were so completely stuffed and expanded by the body of the goat, and the lungs themselves (admitting the trachea to be ever so hard) compressed, as they must have been, by its passage downwards.

'The whole operation of completely gorging the goat occupied about two hours and twenty minutes: at the end of which time, the tumefaction was confined to the middle part of the body, or stomach, the superior parts, which had been so much distended, having resumed their natural dimensions. He now coiled himself up again, and lay quietly in his usual torpid state for about three weeks or a month, when, his last meal appearing to be completely digested and dissolved, he was presented with another goat, (not alive, we hope,) 'which he devoured with equal facility.'—pp. 257—261.

The *Cæsar* took fire, and had nearly been burnt on her passage, a fate which she escaped only by the exertions of Captain Maxwell and

and his officers. She touched at the Cape of Good Hope, for refreshments and water;—and at St. Helena; where the ambassador and his suite, impelled by that laudable curiosity natural to inquisitive travellers, witnessed the exhibition of another *Constrictor* of a different species, of larger dimensions, and with a stomach far more capacious and destructive than that of the Boa which had just died on board the *Cæsar*;—for the particulars of the exhibition, however, which are by no means devoid of interest, we must refer our readers to Mr. Ellis and Mr. M'Leod, who were both present. Finally, the *Cæsar* reached England, and landed all her passengers in safety; after escaping the dangers of fire and water, of savage warfare, and imperial indignation.

Mr. M'Leod's little volume has a few plates as unpretending as the book which they are meant to illustrate; Mr. Ellis's more elaborate work is also furnished—we cannot say embellished—with a map, and a few plates. The former is a copy, and on too small a scale; and the latter are a sad falling off, both in accuracy and spirit, from those beautiful delineations of similar objects by the late Mr. Alexander. The mention of this most ingenious and amiable man tempts us to ask what is become of those characteristic drawings of Chinese costume which he is known to have prepared, previously to his last illness, for publication? They would have admirably served to illustrate the volume of Mr. Ellis, which is very deficient in this respect, and have consoled us in some measure for the reserve of Mr. Havell, who, it appears, was sent out in the character of 'Artist,' and who, with a degree of modesty for which we find it difficult to account, has withheld every specimen of his taste and skill from what may be termed the 'official account of the embassy.'

ART. IX: *Letters from the Cape of Good Hope, in Reply to Mr. Warden; with Extracts from the Great Work now compiling for publication under the inspection of Napoleon.* 8vo. pp. 206. London. 1817.

IT is just as we expected—and our readers will have been prepared by the Ninth Article of our Thirty-second Number for this publication. We have here another of the series of tricks with which Buonaparte endeavours to keep himself alive in the recollection of Europe. It is, like all the rest, fraudulent in its title, shape, and pretensions; false in its facts; and jacobinical in its object. But it has this claim to consideration beyond its predecessors, that it comes from a source so nearly connected with Buonaparte, as to give it in some degree the authority of being his *own apology made by himself*. It tells us, indeed, little or nothing in the way of fact that is not familiar to our readers, but it speaks

speaks in a more decisive tone—it shews by the subjects on which it attempts its apologies, whereabouts (to use a vulgar phrase) the *shoe pinches*; and it proves by the futility of them, that Buonaparte is just the miscreant which all the world has long believed him to be.

We have said, that the very form of this publication is fraudulent—the author has, in this particular, closely imitated Mr. Warden—It pretends to be a series of *Letters*: no such letters were ever written—it is addressed to a Dear Lady C——: the Dear Lady C—— is not in existence. It affects to have been originally written in *English*: it was written in *French*, and the pretended original is only a translation—and to crown the whole, the author assumes the character of an Englishman, while in fact he is a Frenchman; and no other, we are satisfied, than the notorious Count de las Cases, of whose veracity and honour our readers have already had some tolerable specimens.

We shall not waste much time in explaining the *ear-marks* by which (in addition to their own solemn and repeated assertions to the contrary) we recognize these Letters to be a translation from the French:—the most careful and adroit translator cannot always escape the intrusive treachery of gallicisms: but every page of this work abounds with them; half a dozen out of as many hundreds will more than suffice to convince our readers.

‘The civil ceremony (of the marriage) was performed at St. Cloud, and the spiritual in the *Hall* of the Museum Napoleon.’—p. 71.

La Salle du Musée, of which the above is a mis-translation, means the great gallery of the Louvre, the *Museum itself*. The *Hall* of the Museum is what the French would call the vestibule, and would be about as worthy of being the scene of such a ceremony as Buonaparte was of being the chief actor in it. The same mistake occurs as to the temporary *salle*, or ball-room, erected for Prince Schwartzburg’s famous and fatal fête;—the translator calls it a *hall*—he might as well have called it a kitchen.

Again, it is stated that M. de Talleyrand ‘*incurred Napoleon’s disgrace*.’—This, in English, would mean, if it meant any thing, that Talleyrand had shared the fallen fortunes of Buonaparte. The French phrase, *la disgrace de Napoléon*, means, on the contrary, that he was *in disgrace with Napoleon*.—(p. 18.)—In the same kind of idiom *Napoleon’s alliance* is substituted for Maria Louisa’s alliance or marriage with Napoleon.—p. 71.

The French author had stated that an individual was *reconnu*, admitted, to be the contriver of a plot; it is translated, that he was *recognized* as the contriver of the plot; a very different thing.—(p. 146.)—When the translator wishes to say that the French intended to march into the heart of England, it is rendered with

an *affectation* of English phraseology which betrays itself; 'Buonaparte manifested an intention to carry the scene of action into the *bosom* of old England.'—p. 88. But every page abounds with expressions and sentiments which no English man or woman, however ignorant of their own language, or corrupted in their principles, could have written; we have therefore no doubt that the work was originally composed in French, and nearly as little that the composer is Monsieur de las Cases.

Our only difficulty arises from the Letters being dated from the Cape of Good Hope—Las Cases is at the Cape, and we can hardly account for this solitary scintilla of truth finding its way into the production: but on the other hand, the view which is taken of particular events, nay the words in which they are related, are, to our own knowledge, the same in which Buonaparte has in conversation treated the transactions; and we think there is abundant reason to believe that the passages purporting to be Extracts from Buonaparte's History, written under his own direction by Las Cases, are genuine; for, not to insist on their agreement with Buonaparte's known sentiments, it is well understood that such a work was in progress, and that Las Cases was in possession of a considerable part of it. Besides, we knew, and informed our readers several months ago, that he was preparing a work for publication, and we very explicitly foretold the materials of which it would be composed. The facts, or rather the falsehoods, might indeed have been put together by Montholon, or any other of the clique; but the style of the pamphlet, and several circumstances connected with Las Cases, leave, as we have said, little doubt in our minds that he is, immediately or remotely, the author of it. But, whoever be the writer, it must be considered as coming from Buonaparte himself; and assured, as we are, that it is derived from him, and published, if not with his knowledge, at least in concurrence with his wishes, we shall persist in considering it as the *apology* of the ex-emperor dictated by himself.

Our readers will have observed, that the work is entitled '*a Reply to Mr. Warden.*' We find in the outset a complete substantiation of our charges against that person.

'Not understanding the only two modern languages which Buonaparte speaks, he had no other opportunity of learning what he relates, but through the interpretation of Count Las Casas,* who speaks English very incorrectly, and with considerable hesitation—or of General Bertrand, who possesses the faculty of speaking it in a lesser degree than even the other.—This simple observation would, of itself, be sufficient to enable you to form a correct judgment as to the accuracy of Mr. Warden's relations.'—p. 2.

* The translator frequently makes the mistake of calling Las Cases, Las Casas.

Our readers may ask how this denial of Mr. Warden's accuracy, and this pompous *reply* to his assertions, are reconcileable with our opinion that Warden's publication was prompted by Las Cases?—the answer is, that these circumstances are not merely reconcileable with our statement, but furnish full evidence of its justice, and afford a striking proof of the course of trickery with which Buonaparte now conducts his literary operations.

None of these worthies understood enough of English to appreciate Mr. Warden. 'His ardent curiosity for every thing concerning Napoleon,' (p. 2.) convinced them that he was 'a man of talent.' They therefore confided to him all those fictions which they wished to disseminate in England;—but they mistook their man;—Mr. Warden, though weak, was vain, and contrived to mix up so many blunders of his own with their elaborate falsehoods, that they found they had failed in their purpose of creating any useful impression through his means. Besides which, even in cases where he had accurately reported their apologies for Buonaparte, (as the defence of the massacre of Jaffa, and the denial of the poisoning of the sick, and of the murder of Captain Wright,) the refutation so quickly, so publicly given (and no where, we say it with satisfaction, more fully than in this Journal) of those miserable pretences, have induced them to try a new version. It is the practice of Buonaparte and his followers to use implements of this sort, and when the public indignation or derision has blasted their reputation, to accuse them of inaccuracy, and disavow them.

But though this work is thus announced as a *reply* to Mr. Warden, our readers will smile to hear that there is hardly one *substantial* contradiction of his statements; in fact, the book is merely a postscript to Warden's, repeating all his apologies for Buonaparte, but with greater care and skill—softening down passages which had excited indignation—strengthening points which had been found weak—reconciling contradictions which had been detected—supplying eulogies and panegyrics upon themselves which had been omitted—and, in short, publishing Mr. Warden's letters as Buonaparte and Las Cases originally intended that they should have been published by him.

The following extract will at once shew the style and intentions of the author, and amuse those of our readers who may like to look at the tiger in his cage.

'When walking on the deck, he generally spoke to the officer of the watch, the master, or the parson. He appeared sometimes desirous of being present while the master was making his observations; he frequently asked questions of Messrs. Warden and O'Meara, respecting the health of the crew, or upon some medical points, upon which he

likes to converse, as being a science of nature. With the parson he discoursed upon the dogmas and regulations of the different religious sects in England; and frequently he spoke to the captain of marines, who had been under the orders of Sir Sydney Smith, at Acre, at the siege of that place. *So far*, the picture which Mr. Warden has drawn of him, is generally correct. From the catastrophe which befel his army at Waterloo, to the period of his arrival off St. Helena, his officers assert that he did not betray the least ill-humour, impatience, or depression of spirits; and I think that his appearance and habits have been very accurately portrayed by our countryman. When he speaks, he interrogates, and is much fonder of asking questions than of answering. In consequence of having been so long in the habit of receiving a great number of people of different professions, he is accustomed to talk to every one of that particular profession to which he belongs. I saw him once in St. Helena speak for upwards of half an hour to an old Siamese slave, in whose conversation he even appeared to experience some gratification. His marked attention to return the salute of the lowest classes, and even of the slaves, appeared to me, at first, to be a piece of affectation: but I was informed that such had been invariably his custom, that he had declared it was the duty of a Sovereign to return alike the salute to all men, because, in *his eyes*, all men had equal rights.—pp. 12—15.

This is excellent; all Mr. Warden's account is true till he says that Buonaparte seemed to have some of those feelings which belong to ordinary humanity; then the modern Charlemagne rises above this world: not even Waterloo occasions a moment of impatience; and he returns the salute of all men alike, because, in *his eyes*, (as if he were a Jupiter without the Scapin,) all men have equal rights!

We shall extract the following account of Marshal Ney's defection, which puts out of all doubt—if indeed any one is still incredulous on those points—first, Ney's base treachery;—and, secondly, the hypocrisy of Buonaparte, who condescended to flatter Ney when his infamy rendered him contemptible, and who now sneers at him, when his death would have rendered him interesting in the eyes of any other man so situated.

'It is stated, that Ney was sincere in his protestations to the King on the 8th of March, 1815, and that he was entirely ignorant of what was going on at Elba; and that even until the 13th of March, he was faithful to the King. After that, Ney began to waver, was led away, and his old principles prevailed; so that he gave himself up to his former affections.

'On the 13th of March he received from General Bertrand (who then performed the duties of Major-general) an order to put his troops in motion, with a letter from Napoleon himself, composed of the following lines, viz. "My cousin Bertrand sends you orders to put yourself in motion. I have not the least doubt, but that the moment you heard of my arrival at Lyons, you caused the tri-color flag to be mounted by
my

my troops. Obey his orders, and meet me at Chalons! I will receive you as I did the day after Elchingen and Moskwa."

"Ney could hold out no longer against all these circumstances! On the morning of the 14th, he assembled his four regiments, and read to them the well-known proclamation, which, at the same time, was posted up and sent to every place under his orders. The proclamation was composed entirely by himself, and contained his own sentiments. It appears, that, conceiving matters to be decided, he wanted to assume some merit to himself. The opinion prevalent amongst the French at Longwood is, that if Ney had declared himself five days sooner, and whilst the French Princes were still at Lyons, his conduct must have been regarded in the same light as that of Labedoyère; but that at the moment the proclamation was made, Ney had in fact no longer any control, and consequently violated all ideas of public decency needlessly. It would have been much better for him to have left the four regiments at Lons le Saulnier, to their own impulse, and to have returned himself to Paris; to declare what was strictly true, "that he could not resist the will of the people and the troops!" At the time that he sent his proclamation to Bertrand, he accompanied it with a letter to Napoleon, in which he said, "that if the conduct which he had pursued the year before, had tended to deprive him of his confidence, he was ready to retire to his estate." Napoleon, not over-well inclined towards him, and *disgusted by the terms of the proclamation*, had, as I have been informed, dictated a letter accepting his resignation; but political considerations, not very difficult to be comprehended, overruled his first intention, and an order was sent him to join at Auxerre. Ney, on his arrival, is stated to have been extremely embarrassed, and not in a state of mind to hold such language as has been attributed to him; but Napoleon treated him in the manner he had been always accustomed to do, and even called him frequently the "*bravest of the brave*." After this, he was commissioned to inspect all the strong places upon the frontiers, which he did, from Dunkirk to Strasbourg, and then assisted at the Champ de Mai.—pp. 26—29.

We shall not stop to notice several little stories, tending to depreciate the royal family and the royalists, because they are merely secondary objects of the work; but proceed to examine some of those more important passages in which—poor Mr. Warden not having sufficiently gilded his pill—Buonaparte comes forward in his own defence, and gives us a few specimens of the candour and veracity in which this modern Julius Cæsar (as he modestly styled himself) is composing his Commentaries.

The first, is that which denies the PROFESSION OF MAHOMETANISM by Buonaparte and his army in Egypt.

"Several errors have crept into the third Letter of Mr. Warden. It is there stated, that Napoleon had *professed* Mahometanism in Egypt through policy; this he denies ever to have done, and says that Menou was the only French officer of any distinction who *embraced* that religion. I have read in the Campaigns of Egypt, two very interesting

chapters, one relative to the Christian religion and Mahometanism, full of novel ideas; and the other relative to the "*Fetham*" issued by the great Cheicks of Semil-Azar, concerning the oath of obedience, and in which are detailed the means by which he obtained this *Fetham* from the ministers of the grand mosque at Cairo; from both of which it appears, that Napoleon maintained as a principle, that in all matters above human comprehension, *every one ought to continue in the religion of his forefathers*, and in the bosom of which he was born.—pp. 48, 49.

To this atrocious falsehood ALI BUONAPARTE himself shall furnish a reply. His Arabic proclamation, dated on board L'Orient, and distributed the day of his landing in Egypt, commences thus. We beg our readers to excuse the impiety which we shall be obliged to quote—we quote it only to confound the impious.

'In the name of God, gracious and merciful,—There is no God but God—He has no son nor associate in his kingdom!'

'The French adore the Supreme Being, and honour the *Prophet* and his holy Koran.'

'THE FRENCH ARE FAITHFUL MUSSULMEN! not long since they marched to Rome and overthrew the throne of the Pope, who excited the Christians against the professors of Islamism (Mahometanism). Afterwards they directed their course to Malta and drove out the *unbelievers* (the Christians), who imagined they were appointed by God to make war on the Mussulmen.'—*Intercept. Corr.* p. 169. *Ed.* 1801.

In a second proclamation, published in Alexandria a few days after, he says,

'I reverence more than the *Mamelouks* themselves, God, his *Prophet Mahomet*, and the *Koran*.'—*Histoire de l'Exp. d'Egypte*, vol. i. p. 173.

He holds the same language to the inhabitants of Cairo.

'Cheriffs, Ulemas, and Preachers, acquaint the people that since the beginning of the world it was written, that after destroying all the enemies of Mahomet, after having OVERTHROWN THE CROSS, I should come from the depths of the west to complete my destiny—explain to the people that my coming has been *prophesied*, and its circumstances foretold in twenty passages of that *holy book* the *Koran*.'—*Histoire de l'Exp. d'Egypte*, vol. i. p. 267.

If Buonaparte had said that he had not *embraced* Mahometanism, we should not have thrown away our time in combating his assertion: we admit that he never embraced *any* religion; but to deny that he and his army *professed* that they were *not Christians*, and that they *were* Mussulmen, requires the united audacity of the Emperor and his scribe.

On the subject of POISONING THE SICK at Jaffa, it will be recollected that Mr. Warden states, as coming from Buonaparte's own mouth, that when the Physician-General (Desgenettes) stated to him the situation of the sick, who, to the number of seven, could not be moved,

"I said,

“ I said, tell me what is to be done! He hesitated for some time, and then repeated, that these men, who were the objects of my very painful solicitude, could not survive forty-eight hours.—*I then suggested* (what appeared to be his opinion, though he might not chuse to declare it, but wait with the trembling hope to receive it from me) the propriety, because I felt it would be humanity, of *shortening the sufferings of those SEVEN men by administering opium*. Such a relief, I added, in a similar situation, I should anxiously solicit for myself. But, *rather contrary to my expectations*, the proposition was opposed, and consequently abandoned.”—pp. 156. 159.

Upon this we observed:—

‘ It is thus put out of all doubt that, of this crime, as far as first *suggesting*, and being *anxious to execute it*—which, in fact, are the real constituents of a crime—Buonaparte is guilty. If the men were not poisoned, or, as he and Mr. Warden gently express it, if *opium was not administered*, it was no merit of his. With respect to Buonaparte’s cowardly insinuation that the mind of the chief physician anticipated his determination, and waited, with trembling hope, for orders to poison his fellow creatures—it is clear, from his own account, that he suggested, that he pressed, that he insisted on this abomination, and that it was only prevented (IF it was prevented) by the courageous and humane resistance of the medical staff of the army.’—*Quarterly Review*, vol. xvi. pp. 222. 223.

This observation was so much to the point, that it became evident to those excellent persons, Buonaparte and Las Cases, that they must try a new version of the story, and the following is what is offered as the last apology on the subject.

‘ Napoleon gave orders for the army to depart on the 27th May, and on the 26th, according to his usual custom, sent one of his aides-de-camp to visit the hospitals and stores, in order to be perfectly satisfied that his orders had been strictly carried into execution. The aide-de-camp reported to him that the whole had been evacuated with the exception of *seven men*, of whose recovery the medical officers despaired, and who could not be moved; inasmuch, as they would infect with the plague whoever approached them; that some of those unfortunate wretches, on perceiving that they were abandoned to their fate in this manner, had loudly demanded death, with lamentable cries, representing, that the Turks, on their arrival, would practise unheard-of cruelties upon them. *The surgeons on duty at the hospital had demanded authority from the aide-de-camp to gratify their desires*, by giving them (at the last moment) opium; stating, that it was inhuman and horrible to abandon those men in such a manner, and that the maxim “do as you would that others should do unto you,” ought to be put in practice. Notwithstanding this, Napoleon ordered the chief physician Desgenettes, and the chief surgeon Laweg, (Larrey) to be called, in order to ascertain if there was not still some possibility of sending away the abovementioned unfortunate men, and recommended, that they should be put on horseback and the horses led—offering for that purpose,

pose, his own saddle horses; but the physician declared this to be impossible, and added, that the men had not twenty-four hours longer to live. They moreover stated, that in the course of their consultation, touching the possibility of sending them away, they had deliberated upon the propriety of giving them opium, but that Desgenettes had been of opinion, that as his profession was to cure, he could not possibly authorize such a measure. Upon this, Napoleon delayed the departure of the army for twenty-four hours. Nothing was urgent; he was master of all the country, and Djeddar Pacha had not stirred out of Acre. A rear-guard of three hundred cavalry did not leave the town until four o'clock in the afternoon of the next day, forty-eight hours after the visit of the aide-de-camp to the hospital, and not until the seven sick men were reported to be all dead. This circumstance, which has been so much misrepresented, is in reality a proof of his humanity and care towards his troops, who, in return, are stated to have invariably considered him as their father: and, probably, no other general ever possessed in so eminent a degree the affections of his soldiers.' *Letters*, pp. 165—167.

Here, it will be observed, the proposition for administering the opium is made to originate with the surgeons, and to have been rejected by Buonaparte. Now we can say with authority, that Buonaparte himself distinctly admitted both to Lord Ebrington and Sir George Cockburn the facts of the case exactly as they are stated by Mr. Warden, and, with the same incredible assurance, claimed the praise of humanity for his conduct. In both cases, indeed, he thought it necessary to soften the facts by diminishing the number of patients to *seven*,—as if that altered the horror of the crime; and by asserting that the physician refused to adopt his advice—as if that were any excuse for having given it. But why was the number *seven* adopted?—Can he hope to persuade us that, in Jaffa, *where* Berthier, Martin, Miot, Assalini and all the French authorities state that the sick and wounded of the army were accumulated,—*where* Sir Sidney Smith calculates that at least 2000 *wounded* were sent from Acre,—*where* the plague which ravaged the French army was generated, and *where* it raged in its greatest force; can he, we say, hope to persuade us, that the *unmoveable* sick of an army of 20,000 men amounted only to *seven*?

No; but this number has been chosen artfully by Buonaparte, to be used by and bye, as a proof that *not one* man died in the hospitals, because Sir Sidney Smith, in his public letter of the 30th May, 1799, had said that '*seven* poor wretches were left *alive* in the hospital, where they are protected and taken care of:' but Sir Sidney does not say how many hundred *dead* he found there. In this letter of Sir Sidney Smith's too, are found abundant proofs of the systematic and cold blooded treachery and cruelty of Buonaparte towards the sick and wounded of this army in other particulars,

ticulars, proofs which shew him to be fully capable of the atrocity here charged upon him.

M. Miot, of whose veracity we have little doubt, and of whose work we gave an account in the First Article of our Thirteenth Volume, states, that—

‘ though he cannot say that he had any other positive proofs of the poisoning of the sick, except the innumerable conversations he heard in the army, (how indeed should he—he was not one of those who administered the poison,) ‘ yet, if the public voice can be believed, it is a fact that *some* of the wounded at Mount Carmel, and a *great part* of the sick at Jaffa, perished by means of the medicines which were administered to them.’—*Miot*, p. 206.

We have also the evidence of another Frenchman, M. Martin, *Membre de la Commission des Sciences des Arts d’Egypte, et l’un des co-opérateurs de la description de ce pays publiée par les ordres du gouvernement Français*, who distinctly says, that

‘ Buonaparte, unable to remove the immense numbers of sick and wounded which a bloody siege and a dreadful disease had accumulated in Jaffa, proposed to Desgenettes, chief physician of the army, to administer to these wretches poison in the shape of medicine. Desgenettes shrunk with horror from this proposition, but Buonaparte afterwards addressed himself to an inferior officer of that department, and by his means perpetrated this crime.’—*Martin, Hist. de l’Exp. d’Egypte*, Vol. I. p. 315.

On the whole then, these testimonies, combined with such miserable attempts at palliation, serve to strengthen our conviction that the original account of this affair, as given by Sir Robert Wilson from confidential sources of information, is the true one, and we shall therefore recal it to the recollection of our readers.

‘ Buonaparte, finding that his hospitals at Jaffa were crowded with sick, sent for a physician, whose name should be inscribed in letters of gold, but which from important reasons cannot be here inserted; on his arrival he entered into a long conversation with him respecting the danger of contagion, concluding at last with the remark, that something must be done to remedy the evil, and that the destruction of the sick at present in the hospital was the only measure which could be adopted. The physician, alarmed at the proposal, bold in the confidence of virtue and the cause of humanity, remonstrated vehemently, representing the cruelty as well as the atrocity of such a murder; but finding that Buonaparte persevered and menaced, he indignantly left the tent, with this memorable observation: “ Neither my principles, nor the character of my profession, will allow me to become a murderer; and, General, if such qualities as you insinuate are necessary to form a great man, I thank my God I do not possess them.”

‘ Buonaparte was not to be diverted from his object by moral considerations; he persevered, and found an apothecary who (dreading the weight of power, but who since has made an atonement to his mind by unequi-

unequivocally confessing the fact) consented to become his agent, and to administer poison to the sick. Opium at night was distributed in gratifying food, the wretched unsuspecting victims banqueted, and in a few hours five hundred and eighty soldiers, who had suffered so much for their country, perished thus miserably by the order of its idol.—*Wilson*, pp. 76, 77.

On the subject of THE MASSACRE at JAFFA, it seems that Mr. Warden's apology was not considered sufficiently strong; and indeed the observations which we ourselves made upon that point, must have convinced Buonaparte that he had something more to do, before he could be cleared from this stain. We have now his solemn defence against this accusation, and as it is a matter of great interest, and we may say importance, (for the blood shed on that dreadful day still cries for vengeance,) we shall insert his account, and then subjoin such a mass of evidence in contradiction of it as will, we believe, overwhelm the impudence of even the general and his apologist.

'The fort was surrendered at day-light, the garrison marched out with the honours of war, laid down their colours and arms, and became prisoners—agreeing not to carry arms against the French, but to proceed by the desert to Bagdat, and not to enter Syria again for two years. Three hundred of them (Maugrebins) volunteered into the French army, five hundred had been killed or wounded, and twelve hundred were escorted by a detachment of dromedaries, for two days march in the desert, in the direction of Bagdat.'—*Letters*, p. 156.

'Napoleon marched against Jaffa on the 4th, which was invested, and several batteries of twelve pounders directed against it. It was fortified only by a single wall, but there was a garrison of six or seven hundred men, amongst whom was a corps of artillery from Constantinople, which had been instructed by French officers. When the batteries were ready to open, a flag of truce was sent to summon the place; a quarter of an hour afterwards, the head of the unfortunate man, who had borne it, was seen stuck upon the end of a pike, and his mutilated carcass thrown over the walls. This was the signal to begin: in three hours a breach was made in one of the towers; forty or fifty grenadiers and a dozen of sappers made a lodgment in it; the column followed; the place was taken by assault; nothing could stop the fury of the soldiery; almost every body they encountered was shot, and the place delivered up to pillage. During the night the disorder was terrible, and no sort of order could be established until day. As many as had been saved of the unfortunate garrison were sent prisoners to Egypt, with the exception of about eight hundred men who were shot! They were the remainder of the twelve hundred of the garrison of El-Arish, who after having marched three days in the direction of Bagdat, had changed their route, violated their capitulation, and thrown themselves into Jaffa. Prudence would not admit of their being sent to Cairo. Accustomed to the Desert, they would have all escaped in their march, and they would have been found again in Acre. About four thousand
Turks

Turks perished in Jaffa, and about three thousand were saved, namely, twelve hundred sent prisoners to Egypt; thirteen hundred soldiers and servants, natives of Egypt, who were set at liberty as fellow countrymen; and five hundred were sent to carry the news of the French victory to Damascus, Jerusalem, Aleppo, &c. &c.—*Letters*, p. 161—164.

Such is Napoleon's admission, and such his apology!—the good feeling of our readers will, we trust, have already decided, that if even this account were true, Buonaparte was guilty of the massacre; but they will see by the following extracts, selected from writers of different political opinions, but all with means of complete information, that his excuse is false, and that the murder (*according to his own account*) of eight hundred of his fellow creatures was a naked atrocity for which no cause existed, but the convenience (the *prudence!*) of the blood-thirsty wretch who ordered it.

‘General Hutchinson was very angry with the Turks for still continuing the practice of mangling and cutting off the heads of the prisoners; and the Captain Pacha, at his remonstrance, again issued very severe orders against it; but the Turks justified themselves for the massacre of the French by the massacre at Jaffa. As this act and the poisoning of the sick have never been credited, because of such enormities being so incredibly atrocious, a digression to authenticate them may not be deemed intrusively tedious; and had not the influence of power interfered, the act of accusation would have been preferred in a more solemn manner, and the damning proofs produced by penitent agents of these murders; but neither menaces, recompense, nor promises, can altogether stifle the cries of outraged humanity, and *the day for retribution of justice is only delayed*.

‘Three days after the taking of Jaffa, Buonaparte, who had expressed much resentment at the compassion manifested by his troops, and determined to relieve himself from the maintenance and care of three thousand eight hundred prisoners, ordered them to be marched to a rising ground near Jaffa; where a division of French infantry formed against them. When the Turks had entered into their fatal alignment, and the mournful preparations were completed, the signal gun fired. Volleys of musquetry and grape instantly played against them; and Buonaparte, who had been regarding the scene throughout with a telescope, when he saw the smoke ascending, could not restrain his joy, but broke out into exclamations of approval.

‘Their bones still lie in heaps, and are shewn to every traveller who arrives; nor can they be confounded with those who perished in the assault, since this field of butchery lies a mile from the town.’—*Wilson*, pp. 73, 74, 75.

These facts, Sir Robert Wilson says, he had from French officers; and there is not a pretence urged that the bad faith of the garrison of El Arish led to this catastrophe, or that it was con-
fined

fined to them.—But Sir Robert Wilson is an Englishman, and his testimony perhaps liable to suspicion; besides, he does not expressly deny that these men or some of them had formed part of the garrison of El Arish;—let us hear then what a Frenchman says.—M. Martin, at least, is not liable to the suspicion of national prejudices, and his accurate detail puts us in possession of the whole transaction.

‘On the third Ventose’ (22d of February,—observe, 22d of February,) ‘El Arish offered to capitulate, and on condition of being permitted to return to Bagdat, through the desert, with arms and baggage, they promised not to serve again in the army of Djezzar. This capitulation was eagerly anticipated, for the prolonged resistance of the Turks would probably have endangered the safety of the whole army. In fact the garrison consisted of thirty Mamelouks, six Kachefs, four hundred Mogrebins, and eight hundred men who had come from Bagdat and the banks of the Euphrates. The Mamelouks were sent to Cairo—the Mogrebins were incorporated in the skeleton regiments of the army, and *on fit marcher les paysans de Bagdat jusqu’à Jaffa*—and the peasants of Bagdat were marched to Jaffa.’—*Histoire de l’Expédition d’Egypte*, vol. i. p. 283.

Here we must pause a moment to observe, that in the previous points relative to the capitulation and its conditions, M. Martin and Las Cases agree, and indeed the public documents of the time show them to be correctly stated.—But how does Buonaparte execute this condition? instead of permitting them to march as was stipulated, he sends the Mamelouks back to Egypt, makes conscripts of the Mogrebins, and *oblige* the peasants—the *peasants* of the banks of the Euphrates, to march to Jaffa. Let us now hear M. Martin.

After describing in animated colours the capture of Jaffa and the scenes of ‘blood and fire’ which it exhibited, he goes on to say, that a day or two after the storm,—

‘The *peasants* of Bagdat taken at El Arish were still, with some prisoners made at Jaffa, disposed on the plain near the town—they complained that the French had not fulfilled the capitulation which had been made for sending them home. Buonaparte became alarmed lest they might go and join the armies of the Napouleze or of the Pachas, which were now beginning to acquire some consistency; or at least that they would give intelligence of his critical situation—besides, the want of provisions began again to be pressing—under these circumstances he resolved to get rid (*se défaire*) of ALL his prisoners, and on the 10th of March they were all shot or bayonnetted, to the number of above two thousand.’—*Hist. de l’Ex. d’Eg.* vol. i. p. 289.

Thus then, as we said in a former Number, these poor peasants were (even supposing them to have been voluntarily at Jaffa) on their direct way home, and had not time to have gone farther between the 23d February, the day they left El Arish, and the 3d March

March when Jaffa was invested; but it also appears that Buonaparte had not only sanctioned their taking this line of march, but had actually *obliged* them to do it; and it seems exceedingly doubtful whether they ever got *into* Jaffa at all; at least they could have taken no part in the defence, for the great majority of the garrison was put to the sword, and it is not credible that these eight hundred unarmed peasants should alone have been saved, and in a body. But—putting their case out of the question for a moment—it is clear that the whole remains of the garrison of Jaffa, against whom nothing is alleged, to the number of above 1200, were brutally massacred in cold blood, three days after the capture of the place.

If M. Martin's evidence be not sufficient, we have that also of M. Miot, with whose character our readers are already acquainted. He was an eye-witness of the massacre which he describes, and his account (quoted in a former Number) proves that Sir Robert Wilson and M. Martin, instead of aggravating, have really softened the horrors of that tremendous scene.*

THE MURDER OF CAPTAIN WRIGHT is slurred over by asking, “*What interest could the monarch of a great empire have in putting to death a poor English captain, whom he had never seen, and scarcely knew any thing about? When Wright, in October, 1805, committed suicide, Napoleon, at the head of one hundred and fifty thousand men, had just forced the Austrian army to capitulate at Ulm, was marching upon Vienna, and was three hundred leagues distant from Paris. The prisoners,*” added he, “*detained at Verdun, were treated with great attention.*” — *Letters*, p. 167.

To this we repeat our answer out of his own confessions, that he thought the massacre of Jaffa warranted by *prudence*—the sentence and murder of the Duke d'Enghien ‘justified by the *urgency* of the case’; and that ‘it was necessary for him to roll the thunder back on the metropolis of England.’ — *Warden*, p. 149. And in this new apology he repeats the same atrocious doctrine, and asserts that it is lawful to violate the laws of nations, to seize and assassinate, by fraud or by force, a person whom you cannot otherwise reach, in order to intimidate certain others whom you cannot reach by any means.

Now if Buonaparte admits that these doctrines had any influence on his mind in the cases referred to, will it be said that they do not afford an equal motive for the murder of Captain Wright?—That Buonaparte, notwithstanding his 150,000 men, *did* take some notice of a ‘poor English captain,’ is proved by the fact, that he was not treated like an ordinary prisoner of war—he was not sent to Verdun to be ‘treated with great attention;’—he was separated

* No. XXV. Art. I.

from his companions—he was given over to the police—he was confined in the state-prison of Paris—he was put into solitary confinement;—all this is admitted, it is undeniable! If then Buonaparte felt a sufficient degree of ‘*interest*’ to induce him to go these lengths, what was to stop him?—did the *interest* become less lively as the plot grew thicker, and as his own danger became greater?

The new apology states, that Captain Wright ‘made’ (to use the translator’s phrase) ‘three several disembarkations’ of Georges and the other persons for whose plot the Duke d’Enghien innocently suffered. The disposition of the French people, which this book represents as so enthusiastically favourable to Buonaparte, will be best judged of by the fact, that numerous as the conspirators are stated to have been, and tremendous as Buonaparte’s police was, they were neither betrayed nor discovered;—this he finds it necessary to account for.

‘After the disembarkation, Georges and his companions passed the day in the farm-house, and set off in the night for Paris, through by-paths, giving themselves out for smugglers. By means of paying well, they interested every body in keeping their secret. Arrived at Paris they found hiding-places provided for them by means of all-powerful gold, which was not spared upon the occasion.’—*Ibid.* p. 104.

As if he could hope to persuade us that a few poor emigrants, the emissaries of princes poorer than themselves, could *out-bid* the monarch of a great empire, and *out-purchase* the *Police*, which had an unlimited power over the treasury of France!

Still, however, nothing was discovered, and all was anxiety and alarm at the Consular court;—‘at last,’ said Buonaparte to Warden, ‘some light was thrown upon the subject, by the examination of one of the crew of Captain Wright’s vessel.’—*Warden*, p. 140.

He then went on to say—

“Thus a clue was found that led to the discovery of a plot, which, had it succeeded, would have thrown the French nation, a second time, into a state of revolution.—Captain Wright was accordingly conveyed to Paris, and confined in the Temple; there to remain till it was found convenient to bring the formidable accessaries of this treasonable design to trial. The law of France would have subjected Wright to the punishment of death: but he was of minor consideration. My grand object was to secure the principals, and I considered the English Captain’s evidence of the utmost consequence towards completing my object.”—p. 139. 141.

Here then it seems that the great monarch *did* take some interest about the English Captain, and that, as the ‘laws of nature and policy’ would have justified (as we have seen) the assassination of the Duke d’Enghien, so the law of France would have justified the

the murder of Captain Wright. Our readers are aware that M. Savary, the *ci-devant* Duke of Rovigo, has been publicly accused of being the perpetrator of the murder of Wright, but they may not, perhaps, be apprised that he has published a denial of having had any share in that dark transaction—dark, indeed, he admits it to have been—he confesses that it was highly mysterious and liable to heavy suspicion, but he insists that the suspicion should fall on Fouché and not on him; and he even says that if Fouché was not guilty of this murder, it behoves him to show that he was not—an *onus probandi* which would lie rather heavily, we suspect, on M. Fouché. But whether Savary or Fouché was the *agent*, it is clear that Buonaparte was the real perpetrator of this as well as of the other crimes which we have been discussing.

We need not repeat the observations which we made in a former Number, to shew that Captain Wright had been probably tortured in the Temple, and afterwards put to death to conceal the atrocity; we shall close our observations on this painful subject, with the concluding paragraph of an official letter of Captain Wright, dated May 14, 1804, which is conceived in the following striking and mysterious words:—

‘Pointed out by my public services as a *peculiar* object of the gothic resentment of an ungenerous enemy, I must beg leave to recommend to your humanity the trouble of laying the claim of the survivors of my unfortunate crew before the Committee of the Patriotic Fund.’

He saw that he himself could never hope to be able to make a personal effort in their behalf; and the terms ‘gothic resentment of an ungenerous enemy’ sufficiently show that even *so soon* after his capture, he had been made to feel the tender mercies of Buonaparte.

We now come to that act which, though perpetrated on the person of an individual, united, in its circumstances, more points of atrocity than perhaps any of the others; we mean the MURDER OF THE DUKE d’ENGHIEN: which, since it cannot be denied, is attempted to be palliated by such reasons as the following:

“The *affair* (the *AFFAIR*!) of the Duc d’Enghien,” says Napoleon, “ought to be judged by the law of nature and policy.” “By the law of nature,” he maintains, “that he was not only authorised to cause him to be tried, but even to *procure* his being put to death. What,” said he, “can be alleged in favour of the princes of a house, who were publicly convicted of being the contrivers of the infernal machine, and who had actually disgorged sixty brigands upon Paris, for the purpose of causing me to be assassinated? Was not I, by the laws of nature, authorised to cause the Count d’Artois to be assassinated in London? By the law of policy, the whole republic tottered upon the brink of a precipice, and the Duc d’Enghien was one of the chiefs who conspired its fall; and besides, it was necessary to check the audacity of the Bourbons, who had
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sent to Paris sixty of their adherents, amongst whom were the Rivières, the Polignacs, Bouvets and others; people of no ordinary stamp, and not brigands or murderers accustomed to assassinations and robberies like the Chouans. The republican government could not, *consistent with its dignity*, do less, when the assassination of its chief was publicly plotted—than cause its thunder to strike the family which dared to engage in such attempt.”—pp. 144, 145.

We think we shall give an overwhelming answer to all this bloody sophistry by a simple relation of this most interesting case, which we shall borrow, not only from authentic documents published at the time, but from private information of the most unquestionable kind, which has since reached us.

Louis-Antoine-Henry, Duke d'Enghien, was born in the year 1772. He was the son of the Duke of Bourbon, and grandson of the Prince de Condé, of whom Doctor Johnson remarked in his tour to Paris, (Boswell, vol. ii. p. 402) that he was a grandsire at 39,—the fact was, however, still more extraordinary, for (as he was born in 1736) he was a grandfather at 36.

The young prince emigrated with his amiable and respectable father in 1789, after the capture of the Bastille, when he was hardly 17 years of age; and he served in the army of Condé with the most brilliant reputation, adored by his own soldiers, and respected for his courage, his courtesy, and his conduct, even by the republicans.

This army exhibited the singular and interesting spectacle of three generations of heroes, fighting with equal courage and almost equal activity in the same field. After seven campaigns the treaty of Luneville put a period to its services.—It was disbanded, and in 1801—when his father and grandfather came to England—the Duke d'Enghien retired to the château of Ettenheim, a country residence situated close to the town of that name in Swabia.

It is well known that an ardent and romantic passion for the Princess Charlotte de Rohan-Rochefort, to whom it is supposed he was secretly married, induced the duke to reside at Ettenheim;* where, in a happy obscurity, his only occupations were the sports of the field, the embellishment of his little domain, and the occasional society of her who shared and sweetened his exile. So domesticated was this young prince, and so attached to his retirement, that till the fatal night in which he was dragged from it to assassination, he never quitted it but once, when he made an excursion to visit some of the beautiful scenes of Switzerland; but home was still more beautiful to him, and after a short tour he hastened back to Ettenheim.

* Ettenheim belonged to the Cardinal de Rohan in right of his archbishopric, and he had given his niece, the Princess Charlotte, a residence there.

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On the night of the 15th March, 1804, about 12,000 French troops, under the direction of Caulaincourt and the immediate command of Generals Ordener and Fririon, crossed the Rhine in two or three divisions, and surrounded the town of Ettenheim and the residence of the Prince.

The duke had been apprised a day or two before that some design against him was on foot in France. He could not believe it—he was living, in a friendly country, a most peaceable and inoffensive life, under the security of his own innocence, and under the protection of the laws of nature and of nations: he could not believe it,—and the assassins found that no kind of precaution had been taken against them.

When the duke heard them surrounding the house, and breaking down the outward gates, he jumped from bed, and he and a footman named Joseph immediately armed themselves with fowling pieces.—The officers and other parts of his family soon joined him.—The stairs of the castle were straight and narrow, so that from the first landing-place an obstinate defence might be made against the assailants. The duke, notwithstanding the time of the night, and the suddenness of the attack, preserved the most perfect coolness, and made the ablest dispositions for resistance,—his officers and servants were to load the fowling pieces under cover, while he, alone, at the head of the stairs, successively discharged them, with an effect the more to be relied upon from his being an excellent shot.

The house was soon surrounded; the assailants broke the lower door, and seemed to be about to ascend the stairs, where some of them would have received the reward of their temerity, when the duke's first gentleman, a baron Grinstein, threw himself upon him, caught him in his arms, and, exclaiming, that all resistance was vain, dragged him into a room which opened upon the head of the stairs. The assailants seized the opportunity; they rushed forward, and the duke, still palsied by the *prudent care* of Grinstein, was, with all the other persons in the room, made prisoner.

It has never, to this hour, been ascertained whether the baron was actuated by a criminal motive,—the fact of his interference is all we can vouch for,—the duke would certainly have been finally overpowered, and one cannot help wishing, on the first impression, that he had had the satisfaction of dying amidst his dying enemies with his arms in his hand; but Providence ordained for him a still nobler fate, and fraught with a nobler lesson.—Had he died in that midnight scuffle, the atrocity of Buonaparte might have been doubted; the cool heroic devotion of the young and gallant victim would not have been tried and proved; the deep and lasting

indignation of Europe would not have been excited; and the retributive justice of heaven in the fate of Murat and Buonaparte, would have wanted its highest effect, its most exemplary vindication.

When the French entered the room, their first question was, Which of you is the Duke d'Enghien? no answer was made; none of the prisoners were more than half dressed, except Grinstein, who it seems had gone to bed that night without taking off his clothes.—Seeing *him* completely dressed, while the others were nearly as they had sprung out of bed, the French fancied, or pretended to fancy, that he was the duke.—If he had had the honesty and presence of mind to say, I am the duke, he would have been carried to Strasburgh:—probably no harm would have happened to him, and the Prince might have been saved. Grinstein, however, though he received a hint to this effect, was silent; and the French marched the whole party out of Ettenheim. The town was by this time in a state of consternation, and the princess Charlotte de Rohan who, alarmed at the noise, had risen and run to a window, saw, but it is supposed without recognizing him, the duke dragged past her house, with no other covering but a waistcoat and loose trowsers, and a pair of slippers.

At a little distance from Ettenheim, they halted at a mill where was the burgomaster of the town,—whether it was he or the duke's secretary (who had followed his master and begged to be allowed to share his fate) who pointed out the duke to his guards, is doubtful, but he was now known.—He asked to be allowed to send his valet back for linen, clothes and money,—it was granted,—on the servant's return, he dressed himself, and they proceeded.—They passed the Rhine between Cappell and Reinau, at which latter place there were carriages waiting for them. The French wanted to place Grinstein in the duke's carriage, but he refused to be so accompanied; and insisted upon having the brave and faithful servant who had endeavoured to assist him in the defence of the house.

On their arrival at Strasburg, the prisoners were confined in the citadel, and it would seem that the jailers had *not* yet final orders as to the disposal of the Duke; probably Caulaincourt had not returned from Offenbourg, whence he had directed the operation.* The prince was, however, respectfully treated that day; but in the middle of the night his bed was surrounded by gendarmes, who forced him to rise and dress himself with all haste, *as he was about to go a journey.* He asked for the attend-

* Caulaincourt says, in his apology, that the order for sending the Duke to Paris came by the telegraph—as if so important a point should have been omitted in the original orders.

ance of the faithful Joseph : he was told he would not need it. He asked to take some linen : he was answered that *two shirts would suffice*. This sufficiently explained to him his intended fate. He distributed to his attendants, who had now assembled round him, all the money he had, except one rouleau, and a few loose pieces of gold and silver ; and, after he had affectionately taken leave of them, they were excluded from the apartment ; but they heard for some minutes the noise of the preparation for departure, and amongst the rest the clank of the chains with which they had the needless barbarity and insolence to confine his arms.

He was five days and five nights on the road, during the whole of which time he was confined to his carriage, and almost without food. At the ordinary rate of travelling he might have reached Paris in seventy hours ; so that some precautions must have been taken that he should arrive in the *evening*. It was about half past five in the evening of the 20th of March that the young Prince arrived at the castle of Vincennes, when he was delivered into the hands of the governor, who, at first, as well as the other persons, was ignorant who he was. By one of those slight incidents, which sometimes add an interest to a scene already deeply important, it happened that the wife of the governor was the daughter of the Duke's nurse, and she recognised her foster-brother ; overwhelmed with sorrow and consternation, she had yet the presence of mind not to betray herself, and retired—unobserved, except by her husband—to give vent to the emotions of terror and grief, and to endeavour to consider how she could be of use to the unhappy prince.

The name of the royal prisoner was however soon whispered, and as he complained of hunger and fatigue, all the inhabitants of the castle, even the officers and men of the regiment in garrison there, (*s'empressèrent*) vied with each other in showing him attention. This alarmed the persons to whom the direction of the crime was committed ; the regiment was immediately ordered under arms, and marched off to the heights of Belle Ville, where it bivouaqued for that night.

In the meanwhile, a mock tribunal assembled in one of the rooms of the castle. We devote to the scorn and detestation of posterity these bloody and cowardly assassins. They were

Hulin, General ;	President ;	Guiton, Colonel ;
Bazancourt,	Colonel ;	Ravier, Colonel ;
Barrois,	Colonel ;	Rabbe, Colonel ;
D'Audancourt,	Captain, Judge	Molin, Captain Secretary.

Advocate.

' All,' says the sentence, '*named by the General in Chief MURAT, Governor of Paris.*'

The members of this court had received the notice to attend not more than an hour before the appointed time, and they did not, with the exception of the president, know for what purpose they were summoned. Nor was it necessary they should; the sentence was ready drawn before they arrived, and the grave was actually dug before the court was assembled!

Worn out with fatigue, the victim was asleep on a soldier's bed on the floor of his dungeon, when he was called to attend the court. He was awakened with great difficulty, and he entreated to be allowed to sleep again; but as soon as he was made to understand that *his hour was come*, he shook off his fatigue, and prepared with a dignified alacrity for the last scene of his agony. He was introduced into the room where the court was sitting. He was asked his name: he told it. He was asked whether he had not borne arms against France: he answered that he had served the KING; but when they were about to propose some other questions, he said he supposed he had told enough for their purpose, and that he would answer no more. He was then led away, and Hulin produced the sentence ready drawn up, and laid it before the astonished members for their signature. The whole scene had been so sudden—their ignorance of what they came for—of whom they were to try—the name of the young victim, which fell like a thunderbolt amongst them; all contributed to disorder their minds, and the ferocious threats of Hulin, the organ of Buonaparte and Murat, the latter of whom was present in the castle to execute them, overwhelmed their consciences, and they signed the fatal paper. We do not pretend to excuse their meanness, but we know that some of them set no bounds to their self-reproaches, and to the remorse with which they recollected that terrible scene. The bloody Hulin said, with atrocious sangfroid, 'if the Prince had not told us his name we should have been prettily puzzled what to do, as there was no one who could identify him.' This wretch was soon after, as the price of blood, rewarded with the office of governor of Paris, vacated by Murat's promotion to an imperial principality.

In this pretended trial, no witnesses were produced, nor any evidence but some papers, which are stated in the sentence to have been secretly read to the court *before* the prisoner was introduced.

The moment the sentence was signed, the Duke was led down to death.

The night was pitch dark; the executioners could not see their victim, nor their own leaders, nor one another. The Duke asked for a priest, it was refused;—he then knelt down near a square stone which happened to be there, crossed his arms, bent his

his head, and was for a few moments absorbed in devotion. He then requested that a lock of his hair, which he had cut off and folded up, might be delivered to the Princess de Rohan—no answer being made, he exclaimed—‘Is there no French soldier who will perform this last office to a dying comrade?’ One of the guard cried, I will; he received the little parcel;—but neither that nor the generous soldier was ever heard of more!

During all this time, two persons stood on the rampart above the ditch, leaning over the parapet; to them the Duke’s demands were referred, and they, from time to time, directed the operations of the people below—these two persons are supposed to have been Murat and Savary—MURAT—the hour came when he must have remembered this dreadful scene with bitter sympathy!

At last, a little before midnight, the duke was placed in the ditch, with his back to the wall—he asked to give the fatal word of command—he was refused. At ten paces the soldiers could not see him; a lantern was therefore brought, which he himself tied to his button-hole. At the word fire, the duke rushed forward on the muzzles of the musquets, and fell dead at the feet of his executioners. The body was immediately taken up—unstripped and even unexamined—and flung carelessly into the grave, which had been dug before the trial. A stone was thrown into the grave near the prince’s head. It has been said that this was the cowardly vengeance of one of the executioners, whose cruelty was not assuaged even by the victim’s blood; but the person who filled the grave declared, that he had himself thrown in the stone as a mark to know the body hereafter. A little dog of the poodle kind had accompanied the duke; in the confusion of the trial and murder he was not thought of, but on the return of light he was found howling on the grave of his master. The poor creature was with difficulty removed from the spot; a gentleman purchased him from the man who had taken him, and protected him for many years out of affection to the memory of the unhappy Prince.

Our readers will excuse us for adding to this melancholy story a few words descriptive of the finding the remains of the duke.

On the 20th March, 1816,—the twelfth anniversary of the murder—a commission, appointed by the king of France, attended at Vincennes to search for the grave. The man who had been employed to dig and fill it up was still alive, and several persons who had visited it shortly after the event, recognized the spot. After digging about four feet deep, the boot of the right leg was discovered, and then the rest of the body successively, and lastly the head, and the stone which, before the grave was opened, the labourer stated that he had

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thrown in. All the bones were found. Their position shewed that the body had been carelessly thrown in. It was lying rather on the face, with the head downwards, the left leg and arm bent under the body, and the right leg extended and the right arm elevated. It had been stated, by the labourer, before the search began, that the body had not been rifled; and in consequence of this information, the Chevalier Jacques—who had been aide-de-camp to the prince and accompanied him to Strasburg, but had been then separated from him and brought to Paris alone, where he suffered a long and rigorous imprisonment—declared what the Duke had about him when they parted, and what of course ought to be found in the grave; and it is impossible to describe the deep interest, the solemn impatience in which the commissioners, who stood around the trench, awaited each successive report of the surgeons who stood in it, and who examined every thing as the earth was turned up.

They found about the middle of the skeleton a mass of metallic matter, of the size of a watch, but so decayed, that but for some small iron keys and a seal with the arms of Condé which adhered to it, it would have been hardly recognized;—the seal was perfect. A small red morocco purse with eleven pieces of gold and five pieces of silver. Seventy pieces of gold coin, the contents of a rouleau which M. Jacques had handed to him at the moment of their separation—the fragments of the seal of red wax on the ends of the rouleau were found, which bore the impression of the seal of M. Jacques. A ring and chain of gold, which M. Jacques declared the prince always wore about his neck, and which was found around the vertebral bones of the neck. In short, no doubt remained that the remains were those of the Duke d'Enghien—they were accordingly placed in a coffin, and deposited, with the usual ceremonies of religion, in the chapel of the castle of Vincennes.

Thus concludes the history of this bloody tragedy—the excuses for the perpetration of which only shew us that Buonaparte's impudence is equal to his cruelty. The whole charge against the Duke was, that he was in league with England in a conspiracy against Buonaparte;—if it had been true, Buonaparte had no right to violate treaties and the laws of nations to seize him—he had no right to try him before a packed court, chosen by Murat—to condemn him without a single witness being heard against him—and to execute him in the depth of night, with no other light to guide the executioners than a lantern fastened to his button-hole. But the alleged fact is altogether false. It is well known that England had no hand in the French conspiracies against him,—it is equally well known, that the Duke d'Enghien was wholly unconnected

nected with, and ignorant of, them; and Buonaparte even makes it a ground of imputation against the Count d'Artois, that when he was about to execute his plot he did *not* apprise his cousin the Duke d'Enghien, in order that he might have retired to a place of safety.

'Even those who wished to maintain that he was not privy to the conspiracy, have agreed, that his death was to be attributed to the Count d'Artois, (in fact the latter was frequently reproached by the unfortunate Prince's father, the Duc de Bourbon, as having been so,) who, at the moment whilst he was planning the overturning of the republic and the assassination of the first magistrate of the republic, left a prince of his blood in the power of that very magistrate.'—pp. 143, 144.

This admission is altogether at variance with the supposition that the Duke was aware of the plot—besides, the motives of the Duke's residence at Ettenheim on an estate given to him by the Cardinal de Rohan, repel the calumny of his having fixed himself there for political purposes; but again we say, if he had had political objects, Buonaparte's cruelty and violence, though apparently less wanton, would not have been less atrocious.

We have reserved for the last place, a circumstance which marks, in the most unanswerable manner, the infamy of this murder—Caulaincourt himself is ashamed of it, and has published a defence, in which, as it was impossible to deny that he had gone *at that particular moment* to Offenbourg, he strove to prove, poor innocent! that he was not entrusted with the secret.

We are heart-sick at the relation of such repeated horrors—and can write no more. We shall only say that we have this moment heard that the Pole Piontkowski and an Englishman well known in London have fabricated this work between them. Piontkowski may have been (though we do not believe it) the channel by which the materials were conveyed to England; but he is utterly incapable of furnishing them himself—he never spoke to Buonaparte more than once in his life, and that *once* is doubtful—he was not even admitted to the company of the attendants at St. Helena—while there is hardly a page of the Letters which does not convince us that they are made up from Buonaparte's own writings or conversations.

Who the translator or editor is can be of no importance—whether some person at the Cape, whom Las Cases may have had an opportunity of employing; or some one in England, to whom the manuscript may have been secretly transmitted; but we rather incline to the latter opinion.—Indeed we have heard one person named as editor, of whom, fallen as he is, we cannot credit such an imputation. We hope, nay, notwithstanding all

that has passed, *we believe*, that the person alluded to is incapable of lending himself to the palliation of crimes which he himself first and most forcibly denounced to Europe—and we cannot but concur with Sir Robert Wilson in the hope so emphatically expressed by him in his excellent work on Egypt, *that in no country will there be found another man of such Machiavelian principles as by SOPHISTRY to palliate these transactions—frightful crimes! which equal any that have blackened the page of history.* pp. 76. 78.

ART. X.—1. *Des Colonies et de l'Amérique.* Paris. 1816.

Par M. de Pradt. 2 vol.

2. *Des trois derniers Mois d'Amérique.* Par M. de Pradt, Ancien Archevêque de Malines, &c. &c. Paris. 1817.

3. *Outline of the Revolution in Spanish America.* By a South American. London. 1817.

THE attention of this country for the last twenty years has been occupied by events so near in their interest, and so rapid in their succession, that objects at a distance from the sphere of immediate action appear to have lost their due magnitude and proportion. Every political change not directly affecting the contest in Europe passed away as an obscure underplot in the great drama, of which the catastrophe was still in suspense. The scanty portion of public discussion, which had, until recently, been bestowed on the events which have taken place in the Spanish American colonies, presents a striking illustration of this remark.

From the days of old Montaigne to those of Montesquieu, a revolution in South America had been the speculation of successive philosophers, the favourite vision of enthusiasts, the hope and object even of practical statesmen. To exaggerate its importance would be difficult, if we take as the measure of that importance its necessary influence on the condition and happiness of a large portion of mankind—still more, if we take into account its remoter consequences, and the close connection of the destiny of America with that of Europe, and more especially of England. No wonder then that this subject should have excited a greater degree of interest, since the return of peace, in this, as well as in other countries.

The publications of which the titles are prefixed to this Article, afford us the opportunity to contribute our humble endeavours to illustrate the nature of a revolution so interesting in its character, and so complicated in its operations; and to consider what may be the course of political conduct in respect to it, which it best suits the character and the fair interests of England to observe.

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It seems quite evident that this revolution is not the effect of partial intrigue, or of a temporary and casual burst of discontent; but that, proceeding from causes, in their nature radical, and certain, though gradual in their operation, it has extended itself, without previous concert, over the whole of that vast continent, has survived the trials of defeat, and of civil dissensions, and, in all human probability, can terminate only in one of the following results: either in the independence of the colonists—or, in such an alteration in the system of the Spanish government, as may induce them to acquiesce in the future supremacy of the mother-country. That their absolute and unconditional subjugation is far beyond the power of Spain, can hardly be doubted by any one who considers the present condition of that country, and compares the strength, the resources and the conduct of the contending parties. Whatever may be the comparative probability of the two results which we have stated, it unquestionably becomes this country to adopt and to sustain a steady line of policy, consistent with national honour, and not to be warped either by sordid views of interest, or by any vague notions of indiscriminating philanthropy.

The mere recital of the names that distinguish the Spanish colonies in America, the vast extent of their mountains, their rivers and forests, and their real or fabulous riches have in all ages captivated the imaginations of men, and inflamed the spirit of adventure. This impression has been rendered more forcible by the consideration, that rich as these favoured regions are, in the productions of every climate, and possessing all the natural facilities of internal traffic, and of foreign commerce, they have been depressed by a system of government, not more harassing to the governed, than inefficient for its own narrow purposes. It would have been no creditable symptom of the state of public feeling in England if it had been altogether unmoved on a question forcibly applying itself to so many just sentiments and lofty prejudices, nay, if its tendency had not been rather favourable than otherwise to the cause of the Americans.—But on the other hand, when it is taken into account how prone to change is the genius of the present age, and how fearful are the untried chances of a struggle which shakes society to its foundations through a continent of unexplored extent, and involves millions of all ranks, habits, colours, and conditions, in a bloody, desultory, and apparently interminable warfare, we may well rejoice that the government of this country has not suffered itself to be so far infected by the feeling of the public as to foment a contest of such a character by any assistance or encouragement. In arguing, therefore, for the advantages of a strict neutrality, we must enter an early protest against any imputations of hostility to the cause of genuine

genuine freedom, or of any passion for despotism and the Inquisition. We are no more the panegyrists of legitimate authority in all times, circumstances, and situations, than we are the advocates of revolution in the abstract. We should regret that the colonists were subdued before they have secured to themselves a change of system—the admission of the descendants of Spaniards, natives of America, into offices of the state and of judicature—the removal of absurd and oppressive restrictions on their industry, their trade, and their private enjoyments.—If these concessions had been spontaneously offered by the mother-country at an earlier period of the war, and guaranteed by England, they would probably have conciliated the colonies, exhausted, as they were, by the severe and to them unknown calamities of war, and disgusted and discouraged by the misconduct of their leaders. If these concessions should be extorted from Spain, as the price of future submission, to Spain herself they will be productive of equal or even of greater benefits, than to the colonies.

But the time for concession is rapidly passing away, and if it be allowed to pass, Spain may expect to solve the problem proposed by many of her most intelligent writers, whether the separation of the American continent from her dominion will ultimately impair or ensure her welfare.—It would be as rational for the Pope to issue his bull in the nineteenth century, granting certain degrees of the Pacific to the Republic of San Marino, as it is for Spain to attempt in the government of her colonies to adhere to the maxims of the sixteenth century. The system could not resist the force of public opinion, though a Charles were on her throne, and though her armies were commanded by a Pizarro or an Alva. To persevere in force, unaided, is to miscalculate her own resources, even to infatuation. To expect the aid of an ally in such a cause, would, if that ally were England, be to suppose this country as forgetful of its own past history as of its immediate interests and duties. Far better would it be for Spain, instead of calling for our aid, to profit by our experience; and to substitute, ere it be too late, for efforts like those by which the North American colonies were lost to this country, the conciliating measures by which they might have been retained.

But it must be confessed, perhaps, that there is no problem in politics more difficult than the treatment of colonies.—To watch and nurse their youth, and to mark the hour of their maturity;—to know on what occasions to enforce, and when to relax the strictness of parental superintendence—when to require unconditional obedience, and how to yield to supplication or remonstrance—*Ut premere, ut laxas sciret dare jussus habenas*—are among the

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most trying questions of legislative wisdom; and such as few legislators have ever consented to learn from any other experience than their own.

It must further be confessed, that no two cases in history are so precisely parallel, as the first view of some striking points of resemblance induces superficial observers to imagine; and that there are points of difference as well as of likeness between the contests of this country with her colonies, and that of Spain with hers in the present day, which, though they do not destroy the warning force of example, yet forbid too hasty an inference as to the ultimate issue of the contest. In both cases there is a mother-country struggling with her colonies, in both cases those colonies are in America. The general difficulties therefore of distant enterprize and uncertain communication, of armies to be transported, to be recruited, and maintained across the ocean, are in both cases the same in nature if not in degree; and the general principles of justice and moderation, of Christian forbearance, and of mutual and timely concession, are and ought to be in both cases, as in all other possible cases, the same. But when we have admitted these general similitudes, we have disposed of nearly all the points in which the two cases are really alike. The rest of their most remarkable characteristics are such as widely distinguish them from each other. Of these distinctions, while some are more favourable to the cause of the colonies, others to that of the mother-country, all conspire to make the case a more difficult and complicated one than that which is held out to them as a precedent. Spain, for instance, has greater military disadvantages in the struggle than this country had to contend against in that with the colonies of North America;—her greater distance from the most valuable of her colonies;—her own comparative weakness; and the original and inveterate sins of her colonial system. Politically considered, the question which she has to decide is a more difficult one. The Anglo-Americans, an active and enlightened people, animated by the spirit and information derived from the mother-country, contended, as they had done in the preceding century, with pertinacious zeal for a civil right, the grant of which, in the early part of the contest, might have restored their tranquillity, and preserved their allegiance. The South Americans, to use a legal phrase, plead the *general issue* against Spain; they are altogether at variance with the mother-country, not on some single insulated point, which grows out of their admitted relations, and might be adjusted on its own merits, leaving those relations unchanged and unimpaired, but upon the whole scheme and system of those relations themselves. On the one hand, therefore, Spain is less powerful to coerce, on the other

other hand she may reasonably be less willing to give up all that is required of her:—we say reasonably, not in the sense of approving of the oppressive and impolitic system of trade and of government of Spain over her colonies; not as putting out of sight the increased spirit of intelligence and information, which pervades not only the colonies but the world, and which renders the colonial system of Spain obsolete and inapplicable to the present state of things;—not as undervaluing the successful example of the United States, as a caution to Spain how much she hazards by a continuance of the contest:—we mean simply to say that it is natural—and it is so—for any country not to surrender without a struggle, or while it has yet the means of struggling for them, long established possessions of immense value, and long cherished prejudices connected with recollections of national power and glory. We state this—not as what Spain ought to feel, but as what it is natural that she should feel; not as a laudable motive for indefinite perseverance; but as a practical difficulty (such as did not exist in the case of this country) in the way of unlimited concession. If it took England some time and some teaching before she would consent to repeal a tax—it cannot be thought surprizing that Spain should hesitate to surrender an empire. Nor is it more wonderful that this struggle should be national in Spain, than that the American war should have been, in its origin and principle, (as it unquestionably was,) popular in England.

Independently of the evil influence of the Spanish colonial system, and of the general tendency of colonies to outgrow restraint, there has existed a peculiar and immediate cause, which might have severed the union between any colony and any mother-country, in the events of the war in the Peninsula, and the manner in which the interests of America were treated by the successive temporary governments of that kingdom. The authority of Spain was so relaxed, the intercourse so rare, during the first years of the war, that the colonies had subsided into a state of virtual independence, long before they had determined to assume it. They had received no intelligence from Europe, but the vague reports of timid or treacherous refugees; they were told that Spain was conquered and overrun by the French armies; they were distracted by the pretensions and squabbles of rival *Juntas*. At length the Cortes of Spain were assembled, and deluded the Americans with hopes of attention and relief; but when, instead of any substantial reforms, they were treated with dull dissertations on the *Rights of Man* and on the *dignity of human nature*;—when, instead of a proportionate share in the national representation, the number of deputies assigned to them was so scanty, and so ill-chosen, that their interests had obviously

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viously no chance of a fair consideration in the numerous and partial assembly:—and when, as the last aggravation, Cadiz, the harbour of monopoly, the town whose prosperity had been the fruit of their grievances, became the residence of this assembly; and the merchants of Cadiz, the advisers and dictators both of the Cortes and the government; the most strenuous advocates for the sovereignty of the mother-country could not reasonably deny that the colonies derived from such treatment a powerful justification of their conduct; nor blame them if the superstitious loyalty with which they had hitherto united allegiance to Ferdinand VII. with the complaints of their grievances, was overborne, not only by the weight of ancient oppressions, but by the disappointment of new and rational hopes, and by the apprehension of becoming, against their will, subjects to the French empire.

Here again, however, our present concern is not so much with motives as with facts. By the process which we have described, the alienation of the colonies has been rendered so much the more complete; and by so much the more hopeless is the task of Spain to reconquer or reclaim them.

But if these circumstances enhance the difficulties of the mother-country and forbid the expectation of unconditional submission on the part of the colonies, there are other reasons for not anticipating with confidence the same unqualified success to the colonies in a struggle for absolute independence, which crowned the efforts of their brethren in the northern division of the new world. And these reasons grow mainly out of the essential dissimilarity in the history, habits, and composition of the society in the two countries.

The original settlers from England in North America were for the most part an austere, frugal, and industrious people; the hardships and privations of their early establishment were not endured with the inspiring feelings of military adventurers, but borne with the patience of religious submission; the purity of their morals, tinged with no small portion of the fanaticism which caused their emigration, kept them from promiscuous intercourse with the female Indians: and hence an unmixed race was continued, among whom there was no distinction of cast or complexion to introduce a difference in political rights, which, wherever it has occurred, has been the fruitful source of political contention. As no great inequality of property, the principal cause of political power, existed, there was no great inequality of education among those born in the country; and though none enjoyed what in Europe would be considered a liberal education, none were so destitute of knowledge as the mass of the labourers in most countries of Europe. The attention of the people was turned either to agriculture or commerce;
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for as the profit to be derived from the liberal professions was but inconsiderable, in a country where no dignified clergy, no lucrative official vocations, and neither army nor navy existed, the inducement for youth to devote themselves to those employments was very inconsiderable; and the settlers having fortunately soon become convinced that no mines of gold or silver existed in the country, the speculative, or rather the gambling business of mining never withdrew their attention from the surer roads to independence. In agriculture, they were allowed the most perfect freedom; there were no lands either in mortmain or under entail; and they were at liberty to cultivate whatever productions the soil would yield, without taxes, without rent, and without tythes. The external commerce was indeed restricted to the British dominions; but their internal commerce, as well as that with all the other provinces under the government of their sovereign, was perfectly free, and the only imposts which they paid were for the mere purposes of their local government and police. The great manufactory, that of ship-building, and that important branch of industry the fisheries, were totally unfettered. They enjoyed a free press, and though most of their best books were imported from England, there was a sufficiency of elementary books and periodical journals printed in the colonies for the diffusion of a considerable portion of knowledge. The laws were generally understood, (their foundation being the common law of England, much simplified in practice,) and, though this understanding begot a spirit of litigation, were purely and fairly administered.

This population, situated in a climate not the most salubrious nor on a soil the most fertile, increased in numbers and in wealth with unexampled rapidity; and as the whole country is intersected with navigable rivers, and the sea-shore well furnished with commodious harbours, the inducements to commerce more than compensated for the ungenial properties of the climate and soil.

That a population originating in republican principles, and strengthened in them by all the institutions which were familiar to their observation, should wish to escape from the government of the mother-country rather than submit to taxation from it, is perhaps natural; and the considerations of justice, of right, and of gratitude are not here in question. The habits of the country, their laws, their judges, their religion, their customs, their manners and their property suffered so little change by the transition from a colonial to an independent existence, that the difference, had there been no war, would scarcely have been perceptible. Happily too for them, the change took place before the compendious catechism of the rights of man had been promulgated: their patriots were not atheists, nor their leaders robbers; their men of property, education and

and morals took the lead, and the physical power of the poor and the profligate was not set up under the pretended character of the sovereign people, to plunder, to expatriate, or to murder their more respectable fellow citizens. The mobs of the Fauxbourgs of Paris, the Sans-culottes of Copenhagen house, or of Spa-fields, were not yet deemed the oracles of political science, nor appealed to as the voice of inspired wisdom.

In this picture of British American society many of the shades must be varied, as we extend it to the southward. From Pennsylvania to Georgia the number of slaves introduced from Africa produced a difference of character in the white population; but the different races were generally kept distinct, and when that was not the case, the mixed races, from the smallness of their number, were not distinguished by the laws if they were freemen, though their rank or station in society, more regulated by manners than by law, was always inferior to that of the white inhabitants. It is not material to mark the discriminative features of the different classes of the republicans in the northern and the southern parts of British America; in Boston they were democratic, in Charlestown rather aristocratic; but their aristocracy and their democracy were easily reconcilable in a common cause.

Comparing the population of Spanish with that of British America, we shall at every step be struck with the wonderful difference in origin, in progress, and in present situation. The conquerors from Spain, instead of the frugal, laborious and moral description of our English settlers, partook of the ferocity and superstition of an earlier and less enlightened period. The warriors who had exterminated the Mahomedanism of Granada were readily induced to propagate their own religion by the sword, and that religion not a moral and self-denying faith, but a ritual compatible with the grossest debauchery, the most ferocious cruelty, and the most insatiate thirst for gold. Their patient endurance of hunger, fatigue, and inclement weather was the hardihood of the soldier combined with the zeal of the religious missionary. As few or no women accompanied the first settlers, their intercourse with native females produced a race of successors of a most anomalous character, and these in a few generations mixing with the slaves imported from Africa, still further increased the different classes, who, in process of time, more by the rules of society than by the influence of the laws, assumed a variety of ranks according to their greater or less affinity to the white race. From this mixture of colours and castes arose a degree of inequality in property scarcely to be paralleled in any other country, which has continued to the present period. Some of the nobility of Mexico enjoy revenues derived from land and mines of more than £100,000 per ann. while thousands of the native

native Indians are nearly destitute of clothing or habitations, and reduced to frequent want of even the coarsest food. So long as the white inhabitants, of all shades and descriptions taken together, were the smaller number, as compared with the native population, the distinction between those born in Spain and those born in America was scarcely noticed, both Europeans and Creoles uniting together from a regard to their common safety; but in proportion as the Creoles have increased in their numbers they have become objects of jealousy to the European Spaniards equally with the black, the Indian, and the mixed races, all of whom are animated moreover with unfriendly if not hostile feelings to each other.

The education of the lower orders has been totally neglected, and though instructed in some of the ritual observances of their religion, this instruction is seldom carried beyond the adoration of the Virgin, and the making of the sign of the cross, whilst in the Indian villages their ancient idolatry is frequently indulged to them by their Caciques.

The education of the higher classes has been somewhat better attended to, and in their universities are some professors not inferior to the learned of the peninsula. In Lima, the mathematics have been cultivated to a considerable extent: in Santa Fé de Bogota, astronomy and botany were studied by Mutis, the correspondent of Linnæus, and many of his pupils became distinguished for their attachment to those sciences. In Mexico, mineralogy and chemistry have made considerable progress. But these universities, though containing the rudiments of science, diffused them over a very limited surface; as learning led to no distinction where the simple circumstance of not being born in Spain was sufficient to exclude from promotion. In a country where the lucrative offices of the government were more abundant than in any other in the world, the exclusion of natives from those offices must have operated as a check to industrious talent and aspiring genius. Agriculture and commerce were placed under severe and unnatural restrictions. The soil and climate are well adapted for the cultivation of the vine, the olive, and the sugar-cane, but these plants were forbidden to be cultivated to the eastward of the Andes, for the purposes of making oil, wine, and rum, lest the trade of the mother-country should be disappointed of a market, or meet rivals in the colonies. Commerce was restricted to a few ports in America, and to a very few in Spain; the intercourse between the different American provinces was expressly forbidden, (with some few and trifling exceptions,) and the inhabitants even prohibited from passing from one to the other without special permission from the government, which was rarely granted.

Mining was an inviting subject for the speculative and enterprising spirits;

spirits, and consequently considerable numbers were attracted to that species of industry; by which sometimes enormous fortunes were acquired, but a much more numerous body of adventurers were reduced to ruin. Even in this branch of industry the most impolitic and ridiculous restrictions tended to check the spirit of enterprize. The mines of iron were forbidden to be worked, lest they should injure those of the peninsula; and quicksilver was not allowed to be obtained in Mexico, and only in a small quantity in Peru, though the quantity of silver which the mines would produce was only limited by the quantity of quicksilver which could be obtained for working them.

The freedom of the press was utterly unknown, and the press itself only permitted in a few of the larger cities, where, under the inspection of a rigid officer, a gazette, a few almanacks, and the *bandos* or proclamations of the government were printed. The laws in the compilation entitled '*La Recopilacion de las Indias*' were sufficiently just and simple, but the application of them by the courts of justice, called the Audiences, was exceedingly corrupt, and the bribery of the judges so notorious, that it was scarcely affected to be concealed. The power of the viceroys, of the Audiencias, and even of the Subdelegados, was unlimited over the individuals under their authority, and imprisonment without enquiry and without trial could be inflicted at the arbitrary will of any of those officers, and prolonged till, by bribery or influence, the prisoner could obtain his release.

Nor are all the dominions of Spain in America by any means so circumstanced as to present great facilities for external commerce; their principal settlements, Mexico and Peru, are destitute of navigable rivers and secure harbours, and being very mountainous countries, with scarcely any roads, the obstacles to internal intercourse are with difficulty surmounted. But the want of the facilities for commerce is compensated to the inhabitants by the most prolific soil, yielding, with little labour, all that the wants or enjoyments of man require; and hence, under a most impolitic and unwise government, their population has increased, not indeed with the rapidity of the English settlements, but faster than in any other country with which we are acquainted.

This contrast between the two descriptions of American colonists is the more worthy of observation, because we are satisfied that nothing has led to so confused and inaccurate a view of the affairs in South America as the habit of arguing from the United States to the Spanish colonies.

The impotency of the mother-country to subdue may, as we have said, be in this, as in the former instance, established: because the effect of the shaft depends upon the strength of the

arm which draws the bow, and because distance naturally enfeebles the force, and distracts the aim: but that the Spanish colonies, if, like those of North America, they escape subjugation, must *therefore* necessarily like them start up into vigorous, steady, and mature states, is a proposition which no man will very confidently maintain, who recollects another more recent example of colonial revolution in St. Domingo. Far be it from us to anticipate such a consummation of the present struggle; though there can be no doubt, we think, in which of the two prototypes, that of North America, or of St. Domingo, the elements of society were compounded in the manner more nearly resembling the South American colonies of Spain.

But we insist upon the uncertainty of the issue of this revolution (even after subjugation by Spain shall have been put out of the question) the more strongly, because we are persuaded that among the enthusiasts who would arm this country against Spain on behalf of her resisting colonies, the greater part do honestly and implicitly believe that, if the pressure of the Spanish monarchy were removed from South America, a new and beautiful order of things would instantaneously spring into existence: and the question as to the expediency (we will not say the justice or the right) of this country's interference in the quarrel cannot be fairly examined while coloured by such a delusion.

We have not been slow to admit the justifiableness of the course which the colonies have taken in refusing an unconditional return to the state in which they were placed under the colonial system of Spain. To the grievances arising from that system, we have mentioned that the progress of the peninsular war, and especially the decrees of the Cortes, added new causes of discontent.

The Cortes had never been assembled for active purposes since the peopling of Spanish America, which now contains more inhabitants than Spain. When the proposition was made of re-assembling that body, much difficulty occurred in determining the most constitutional mode of electing the members. Instead of adhering to the custom of Castile, of Arragon, or of Valencia, they were chosen upon a system too nearly copying the example of the Convention in France; and as the distance of America precluded the possibility of any members arriving from thence in time, meetings were called of the natives of America, who had taken refuge in the isle of Leon, or the city of Cadiz; and from them were chosen, by lot, individuals, who were to supply the places of representatives till an alteration in circumstances should enable them to elect regular members. Some of those representatives indeed protested against their own elections, though they were compelled

pelled to take their seats in the assembly which refused their protest. Almost the first business transacted by the Cortes was their famous declaration of the sovereignty of the people, a declaration which, like any other metaphysical sophism, is a mere nullity till it is applied to some practical purpose. The Cortes, after the abstract decree, assumed that they were the representatives of the people, and therefore the sovereigns for all purposes, both legislative and executive. The juntas formed in America, with equal or greater reason, affirmed that they were the people, and as such the sovereigns; sovereignty not confined to any class or colour; for all were equal, Indians and Negroes, Creoles and Spaniards, all had an equal right to be considered as the people of America.

The Cortes, like all theoretic statesmen, speedily found their doctrines irreconcilable with their interest. The decree of October, 1810, affirmed the equality of the Americans, and their right to be represented in the same proportions as the inhabitants of the Peninsula, (viz. one member for each fifty thousand souls.) A few months after it had been promulgated, the deputies for America brought before the assembly some propositions grounded on this decree, and calculated to reduce its principles to practice; but the *liberales*, the strenuous advocates for abstract rights and theoretic decrees, knew that America contained more inhabitants than Spain, and, reckoning by the head, she would have a majority of members in the Cortes. This party forming a small majority, were eager for the fabrication and adoption of a metaphysical republican constitution: what effect might be produced by the introduction of a majority of Americans they knew not, and they combated, in a discussion of several days, the application of their own principles, and succeeded in rejecting the propositions.

The adaptation of their principles to the case of America was deferred till the constitution could be manufactured. In that motley composition, by a strange departure from their own doctrine of equality, they enacted that no one, who was descended in the remotest degree from the African race, should become a citizen, so as to entitle him to represent or to be represented. By thus disfranchising all of African race they lessened the comparative population of America, and thus the majority in the future Cortes would be European Spaniards. The juntas in America could never understand any reason for restricting the rights of sovereignty to the European and Indian races, and for the exclusion of the Negroes and their descendants. The same caprice (for such it appeared) which excluded the free descendants of those mixed races, part of whose origin could be traced to Africa, might be extended to those of Indian origin, and thus nineteen-twentieths

of the inhabitants of America might have been deprived of the *rights of man*.

It would be difficult to describe, and disgusting to contemplate, the minutæ of those scenes of horror which Spanish America displayed during the period in which the metaphysical Cortes of Cadiz ruled the Peninsula. When that body was dissolved, and a new set of representatives chosen, the important events nearer their residence engaged their whole faculties, and prevented them from paying attention to that confusion and desolation which their predecessors had spread over the distant regions which were once subjected to the Spanish crown. The Cortes of Madrid were, upon the whole, a better composition than those who framed the chimerical constitution; they had less talent, but they had less presumption; and if the mob of Madrid had not overawed them during their ephemeral existence, it is probable some attempts might have been made to retrace the fatal steps of their predecessors; but the victories of the allied troops in Spain and the South of France, as well as in Germany, following in quick succession, induced Buonaparte to release Ferdinand.

The release of Ferdinand was unexpectedly announced in America. In most parts the different hostile bodies were acting in his name, (for only Caraccas and Buenos Ayres had declared for independence,) and professed to be contending for the preservation of his authority. His liberation therefore became the signal for the suspension of war, and hopes were entertained that the pause which took place in the western world would prevent further hostilities, and lead to peace and tranquillity. The cabinet of Madrid issued proclamations addressed to America, in the language of condolence and conciliation, declaring 'that the king, when rightly informed of the excesses committed by both parties, would become the mediator between his European and American children, in order to terminate those dissensions, which would never have occurred but for the absence and captivity of their common parent.' This slight prospect of tranquillity was, however, quickly dispelled. Whatever intelligence of the situation of affairs in America reached the Spanish cabinet, came through the medium of the viceroys and governors appointed by the Cortes at the instigation of the junta of Cadiz, who were zealous in securing to that city the monopoly of commerce, and who had carried on the war with such exterminating fury as to make them totally unfit for the mild office of pacificators. When Ferdinand abolished the constitution, the press, the posts, and many civil offices were left in the hands of those who had been the partisans of the Cortes and their regency; the reports transmitted to America by their means, were such as tended to
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prejudice the character of the king and his ministers, and to kindle the languid flame of insurrection throughout that continent, and thus the hope of a termination to the war was speedily blasted.

At no period does there appear to have been any just ground for accusing the South Americans of partiality to France. That they were not desirous of obeying a French king on the throne of Spain, their conduct at that time indisputably proves; not a symptom of such a disposition appeared in the Caraccas, in Buenos-Ayres, in Mexico or in Chili. That they ever desired to be subjects of the French empire, independently of Spain, is inconsistent with their views and professions, and in itself perfectly unintelligible. It should be recorded to their honour that they disdained the intrigues and promises of Buonaparte, and his attempts to confound their cause with his own ambitious projects. The secret instructions given to Dumolard, which were taken, and are published in the 'Outline of the Revolution in Spanish America,'—prove the extent of Buonaparte's designs, and the exertions of his agents; and it is well known how completely those designs and exertions failed. It was reserved for the more refined intellects of European statesmen to decorate Napoleon with the attributes of freedom; to lament his fall as the extinction of liberty, and the triumph of despotic and illiberal principles.—But the less cultivated Americans treated his pretensions to this character with native rudeness, and seem to have concluded, that the invasion of Spain, the attempt to subjugate and enslave an unoffending people, and to force his brother on their throne, were not the best claims to the admiration and support of nations contending for their own independence.

It is not then without extreme astonishment, and an emotion of the ridiculous, that among the competitors who are expected to attempt to share in the tempting prizes, which these magnificent regions offer to ambition and to avarice, we have heard mention of the name of *Joseph Buonaparte*! That the military officers of France, driven by political events from their native country and unable to bear the inaction and insipidity of peace, that ambitious spirits of every nation should enlist themselves in a cause, which flatters the hopes of distinction and of interest, cannot be matter of surprize—but that king Joseph—the *bottle-king*—the laughing-stock of his own palace—who can scarcely have recovered his breath since the flight of Vittoria—that he should ever be the candidate for a second throne, will appear most singular even to this generation. But how infinitely will that wonder be increased, should we find him selecting South America for the second display of his regal and military virtues! By that country his pretensions were rejected with universal contempt.—His emissaries were no sooner detected, than they were cast into prison themselves, and

their papers and proclamations into the fire ; or they were sent to Europe by his loyal subjects for the information of his enemies.

We have said enough to shew that it is from no ill will to the Spanish colonies that we are doubtful as to the probability of their immediate erection into empires, and decided as to the policy of encouraging and aiding them in that enterprize. This latter opinion is not in any degree strengthened, in our minds, by the view which is taken by the Abbé de Pradt of the effect to be produced by American success on British power and prosperity.

As the Abbé de Sièyes produced a constitution for any country on demand, the Abbé de Pradt appears to have a book prepared for every political subject: no wonder therefore that he has written and is writing most copiously on the important subject of the American colonies, which, he has well remarked, will now become the principal object of attention to the European states.

The same vivacity of style, the same vein of acute observation, and the same ambitious pursuit of effect and of 'white bears' in writing, as they were termed by Lord Chatham, will be found in this, as in all the Abbé's former works. But we must confess that his talents appear to us better adapted to the lively description of characters, and to the invention of an excellent *sobriquet*, than to the discussion of great political questions, and the settlement of political difficulties. His passion for *generalization* often obscures the subject which he is anxious to illustrate; and at other times induces him to express, in stately and solemn diction, trite matters of fact, and truisms as new as they are profound. There is a chapter in the first volume, 'Des Colonies,' on the 'Constituent Principles of the Colonial Order.' These he has by great labour reduced to the small number of *ninety-four*; but when the importance and novelty of those which he has introduced are maturely considered, the only cause of surprize will be, how he has been able to refrain from adding several hundred more to this list.

'45. The independence of colonies is nothing more than the declaration of the majority.'

'84. Money does not return from India.'

'71. The separation of colonies leads to the establishment of a great number of states.'

'86. The nation which is sovereign in India is superior to those which are not so.'

These and such as these, are the Abbé's profound maxims of state policy, and afford a striking proof of that simplicity which is the characteristic of great discoveries.

The Abbé desires the independence of the South American colonies, because it must lead to the general independence of America, and, by certain consequence, to the emancipation of Europe from the
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the intolerable yoke of England, which he represents to be as severe as the oppression of Buonaparte. He foresees the formation of independent and naval powers in America, who, with their combined fleets, shall in the fullness of time come to the relief of oppressed Europe. He predicts the birth of the admiral who is destined to capture the bridge of London; but the English reader will be somewhat consoled by hearing, that the production of this tremendous infant will not follow for many ages the death of the general, who attempted to blow up the bridge of *Jena*. We cannot be too grateful for this long respite. But let the ci-devant archbishop offer a few words for himself.

'The Revolution,' he says, (p. 414.) 'has given up the ocean to England, and with it all the colonies and all the navies of Europe. By its position in the centre of the European ocean, England stops all communication between the north and the south. Where can they have any intercourse? Every thing that would pass through the Sound would be stopped at Heligoland and Ferro; it would have to pass under that long battery which extends from Yarmouth to Plymouth; the Channel is a sea enclosed by the English ports, and is completely an English roadstead, through which the squadrons of France and Holland would not dare to pass. At the first signal, Brest, Cadiz, and Toulon, would be blockaded. Gibraltar commands the entrance to the Mediterranean, Malta occupies the centre of it, and Corfu rules the Adriatic: where can we unite, or through where can we pass? It is just the same in every other part of the world. England has possessed herself of situations which deprive other nations of any hope of success; so that a coalition between all the maritime powers of Europe against England is a creature of the imagination. Some of the parties to this coalition are too much exposed both in their commerce and in their colonies not to prefer their present sufferings to any aggravation of them, which would be the inevitable consequence of a rupture with England. She has just left them colonies and commerce enough to form a bond composed of fear, and of an attention to that conduct which she is always dictating.—*An everlasting status quo is the only calculation of those powers; provided that lasts they are satisfied.* At the Cape of Good Hope, at Ceylon, at Trinidad, at Barbadoes, and at Halifax, the English are in the same position with regard to the colonies as they are at Heligoland, Gibraltar, and Malta, with regard to Europe. Every thing is in subjection to them there as it is here. Whilst things are in this state, all the naval force of Europe is a useless expense—a subject of triumph prepared for England, and, since we must speak out, a complete absurdity. Europe must not look at home for the means of obtaining maritime freedom; she cannot rest the lever firmly here, which will raise the burden that is crushing her—it must be rested in America. From henceforth her liberation must originate there. We have just had a proof of this in the war which the United States have been waging against England: they have tormented England more than all the navies of Europe united together have done. The reason of this is very

simple: it is the distance of America. England at such a distance from the seat of empire lost part of the advantages which render her so formidable in Europe; consequently the greater number of states there are in America similar to the United States, the greater number of allies will there be for Europe: for all these states being, like the United States, in their nature maritime, and possessing an infinite number of ports and rivers inviting navigation and commerce, will have the greatest interest in the liberty of the seas, and in forming an alliance between the weaker maritime powers against the stronger, who are the natural oppressors of the former; consequently every standard of liberty planted in America will cover the seas of Europe with a tutelary shade. Let us suppose some free states in America, like those of Brazil, the United States, and Mexico; and on the other side of the continent, Peru and Chili, to be in that state of freedom which they must arrive at sooner or later—Is it not plain that in them are raised up as many rivals to England, and as many fleets and as many arsenals as there are in the United States, and all of them at the service of Europe, against the common enemy, the mistress of the sea, whatever name she bears? for by being mistress, she is an enemy to all who are weaker than herself, and all are equally enemies to her. Is it not plain that a general contest for the independence of the sea will arise with means of supporting it, a contest which, in this case, would not fail of having its effect, favoured as it would be by the position of the nations who would take part in it, while it is impossible that Europe alone should institute such a contest, on account of its position and its proximity to England? She is an enemy whom we cannot affront till we have drawn her from home, and forced her to divide her strength. When England shall have to blockade at once both the whole of Europe and the whole of America, that blockade, instead of being an iron chain, which it is impossible to break, as has been the case for the last twenty years, will be only a cobweb which can be pierced at pleasure. When her vessels shall have to guard stations at the distance from England of many thousand leagues, and without secure harbours; and when her commerce, banished from the two continents, and pursued by swarms of cruizers, shall stretch its suppliant and afflicted arms towards the mother country for peace; then will a maritime independence be established for Europe, which it is not able to obtain by its own means.

‘The chief error in the policy of Napoleon was this; he wished to render the seas free by means of Europe, whilst it was only by means of America that it could be done: he turned his back upon the object he aimed at when he went to seek for it in Russia, where it certainly was never to be found. Such is still the error of Spain: she does not perceive that by labouring to re-establish the dependance of America, she is only confirming her own dependance upon England, who will thus be enabled to turn all her force against her, which would otherwise be required against America.’

We should not have trespassed on the patience of our readers with this long rhapsody, did we not know that the sentiments it conveys are the common property of all the revolutionists; that the numerous

numerous disciples of that school of anarchy which France has scattered over the world, affect the same terror of the naval power of England, the same tender regard for the insurgents of Spanish America, and the same hope that, by the ferment at present working in that distant part of the world, the countries of Europe now settling into repose may again be roused and kindled into confusion, plunder, and regicide.

Contempt for the whole fraternity, of which this man is a feeble echo, must not prevent us from such remarks as are dictated by a regard to the peace and happiness of mankind, and by the love of that genuine liberty which can subsist only with law, order and legitimate authority.

In the station which England has acquired, during the long war reluctantly waged by her in defence of the civilized world, it is not even pretended that she has obtained any other than defensive positions; or that, having acquired them, she has applied, or shown a disposition to apply, their possession to any other purpose than that of securing general tranquillity.

The lamentations of these *liberales* arise not from any fear that England will disturb that tranquillity, but that the positions which she has thus taken will induce the other powers of Europe to maintain '*an everlasting status quo, and to be satisfied as long as that lasts;*' a situation which being the result of treaties of peace and of the law of nations, and not founded on the '*rights of man,*' must tend to disturb the visionary ideas of the revolutionary faction. In consequence of England possessing the outposts she has acquired, the liberty of the sea has been more effectually secured than it could have been by the conquest of Russia; (the attempt at whose subjugation the right reverend politician mildly points out as an error on the part of Napoleon;) or than it is by the swarms of pirates of all nations who, under South American colours, annoy and plunder the peaceful traders on the Atlantic ocean. By the repose which the naval superiority of England has given to the world, the *status quo*, which this author dreads, is, in fact, likely to be realised. All the naval powers, and England above all, have been enabled to reduce their military navies to a standard even below what any former peace has witnessed. England has exerted herself to crush the enemies of the liberty of the sea on the shores of the Mediterranean, and perhaps ought to do somewhat to suppress those equally piratical cruisers which are fitted out by unknown buccaneers under the banners of Spanish American freedom. With these exceptions, the liberty of the sea, of which, with a whining cant, the revolutionists pretend to lament the loss, never was enjoyed in any period, or under any circumstances, in greater perfection than at the moment when they are alarming or attempting
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to alarm the continent with their denunciation of the maritime tyranny of England.

But the cant of revolutionists has as little influence on our fears, as the war-whoop of enthusiasts has upon our reason. We would abstain from aiding the Spanish Americans against the mother-country,—not because we dread the re-establishment of their independence, but because we doubt the probability of so peaceable a result from the success of the colonies against Spain; and because we are sure that England has no right to take part in the quarrel. We believe that some middle result between submission and total independence is at once the most probable and the most desirable; and we think that to such an end, this country might lend its aid in the manner in which it has been willing to lend it heretofore.

When in the year 1810, the deputies from the South American provinces came to England, announcing their resolution to maintain their allegiance to Ferdinand, to assist Spain with all their power in the common cause against France, but to provide independently for their own internal government, three distinct lines of policy were open to the English government. To unite our forces with those of Spain, and actively to support them in compelling the colonies to submit, was a course of policy that no statesman could advise, and it would benow a waste of time to argue on it. The question then to be decided was, whether this country should give an avowed support to the colonies in their contest for independence, or whether, acting on the clear principle of neutrality, and endeavouring to secure to Spain the succours and resources of the American provinces during the war against Buonaparte, it should offer mediation between the mother-country and the colonies. The colonists proclaimed their present object to be complete and permanent independence; but the qualified manner in which their claims were *then* stated, was a material point in the question, as then presented to the decision of the English government.

At the first arrival of this intelligence in England, a loud outcry was raised in favour of granting immediate and open assistance to the colonies. The opportunity, it was urged, might never recur; the success could not be doubtful in the existing condition of Spain; the advantages to England were incalculable and certain, while the war in Spain, as it had been decided by these advisers, could only be productive of certain loss, defeat and disgrace.

Of the numerous arguments against the proposition of employing at that time the arms of England in alliance with the colonies; the first in real importance, and which would appear to us abundantly sufficient to decide the question, is to be deduced from the war,

war, in which we were engaged as the allies of Spain, against the enormous and usurping power of France. The policy of employing the military resources of England in a powerful exertion for the success of that contest may have been wise, or ludicrously absurd; but it *had been adopted*, and its wisdom or folly are indifferent to the present question. The primary object of all our exertions was to obtain and secure the independence of the throne and people of Spain; and who will deny that the military power of France was so formidable, the resources and the genius of Buonaparte were so gigantic, that the principal, or rather the only chance of our success obviously consisted in the unity of our object?

To those, indeed, who persevered in arguing that the war in Spain was on our part an idle waste of blood and of treasure, and who had the sagacity to perceive in Buonaparte a disposition so pacific, and intentions so inoffensive, that England might safely acquiesce in the addition of Spain to his dominions; the privilege of recommending in any year of the war an expedition of freedom and fraternity to South America most unquestionably belonged; but more especially to those who had engrafted these principles on an indiscriminate affection for all revolutions. If, however, Buonaparte had in truth engrossed a degree of power, which, having absorbed the liberties of the continent, had become a subject of national alarm to England; and if, as the event has proved, the best opportunity of opposing a successful resistance to his system of aggrandizement was to be found in assisting a nation, exasperated by his insults, and struggling against his oppression, it must be admitted that every deviation from the singleness of our plan was rather to be avoided than to be pursued. Every object of policy became of minor consequence, and no minor object ought to have been allowed to distract our attention, or to divide our forces. We certainly might have contrived, with mischievous ingenuity, to weaken the exertions of our ally, and to disperse our own, at the crisis of that arduous contest. Spain seldom calculates with prudence the chances of political success: indignant at such conduct, she might have chosen to break the alliance; and we should then have had the satisfaction of adding a war in America to that in Europe; or, at all events, we should have offered to Spain the alternative of preserving the integrity of her empire by submission to Buonaparte, or of suffering,—at the hands of her friendly ally, and as a reward for her exertions in the cause of national freedom,—the dismemberment of her colonies. But how would the advocates of this policy have disposed of the question of national faith, though the ground of expediency be conceded?—A question which they will admit to be not only a very graceful topic

topic of parliamentary declamation, but essential to the real interests, as it is to the character of the country.

We cannot imagine any source of a more lively delight to those individuals, statesmen, authors, and orators of various nations, who pursue the honest profession of misrepresenting the motives, and of detracting from the reputation of England, than would have been the unexpected intelligence—that at the very crisis of a war, in which we pretended to a more than common zeal of friendship, and a hearty communion of objects with Spain, we had, in breach of express and solemn treaties, taken advantage of the first unfavourable change in the situation of our ally, to pursue at his expense our own sordid objects of commercial policy—that we had, in short, betrayed the cause of Europe for a better market for our commodities! this would have been, indeed, a triumph. Every gazette, and every political assembly in Europe would have teemed with expressions of hatred and disgust;—no libel from the press of our continental friends or enemies would have omitted this invaluable topic, and what defence could have been made for this faithless, selfish, and shop-keeping nation?

But it has been said, that having saved Spain and Europe from the yoke of Buonaparte, we may now safely speculate in the freedom of Spanish America; and we have been excited to this war—for it is not less than war—sometimes by severe censures on the conduct of Spain, at others by alarming our jealousy of the rising power of the United States. The peculiar state of the relations between Spain and England from the year 1809 to 1814, and the transition from war to peace, in no degree alter our view of this subject, nor can they weaken the arguments against the colonial alliance. After the bitter experience of the contest with her own colonies in North America, it may well become this country to be slow in interfering with the colonial disputes of other nations. If the political consequences for which France is indebted to her active support of those colonies are fairly considered, they will not hold out a very strong encouragement to imitate her example.

Would it be nothing to incur the just and durable enmity of the power, which by our means has been deprived of colonial possessions? Or, granting that its means of future revenge may be contemptible, can it be imagined that all the nations of Europe would look on with indifference, while England was extending her influence, and securing, as they would apprehend, a monopoly of American commerce? Have they proved themselves to be so free from jealousy of our power, and so attached to the interests of our trade, that we could expect them to be idle spectators of this great addition to both? But if the cause of Spain were defended by any allies, then the tranquillity of Europe might be again committed to the

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hazard of war, and America be the inauspicious field of battle. That the conduct of Spain has been, in this contest with her colonies, neither wise nor humane; that Ferdinand VII. lost an opportunity on his return to the throne, of succeeding in a rational attempt at conciliation;—these are propositions, to the truth of which we may assent without being driven to the conclusion, that therefore the sword must be drawn for the colonists.

But it has been plausibly asserted, that by abstaining from interference in the affairs of South America we are surrendering to the United States all the advantages which might be secured to ourselves from this revolution—that we are assisting to increase the trade and power of a nation, which alone can ever be the maritime rival of England. It appears to us extremely doubtful whether any advantage commercial or political can be lost to England by a neutral conduct; and it must be observed, that the United States themselves have given every public proof of their intention to pursue the same line of policy. But admitting that this conduct is nothing more than a decent pretext; or admitting still further, that they will afford to the Independents direct and open assistance, our view of the case would remain precisely the same. The experience of ages, the instance of North America itself, will distinctly prove, that the South Americans will not sacrifice to their gratitude for the *disinterested* exertions of the United States all the benefits and enjoyments which, in any case of their success or failure, they must derive from the amity and the intercourse of England. They will not be disposed to punish themselves by receiving our manufactures at an enhanced value through the medium of the United States; nor will they, by a gratuitous provocation of the naval power, whose productions are most congenial to their wants, and whose hostility would be the most formidable to their nascent prosperity, at once throw away the great prize of their exertions—the acquisition of a free trade. We are still persuaded, that they will not feel enmity towards England, because in the first years of their revolution it has preferred the line of good faith to a selfish pursuit of commercial profit, or to a romantic desertion of common sense; and because at a later period it may be unwilling to risk the tranquillity of Europe, and to aggravate its financial difficulties, by engaging in war against an ally recently saved by its own exertions.

These reasons appear conclusive against the policy of committing the honour and the power of England in an alliance offensive and defensive with the colonists of America. The government of this country adopted in 1810 the line of mediation, and the commissioners appointed for this purpose by England proceeded to Cadiz; where, after warm discussions in the Cortes, the mediation was rejected

jected and the mission dissolved. Whatever might have been the result of this scheme, it is to be regretted that the British commissioners, men of talent and of experience in political affairs, had not then the opportunity of informing themselves and their country on the real state of the colonies, and of obtaining an accurate insight into the views, the disposition, and the conduct of both parties in this sanguinary contest. We cannot now decide whether Spain, in thus rejecting the plan of mediation, rejected the only chance of recovering her colonies, but we know that many of those who were leading members in the executive and in the Cortes have expressed their bitter repentance of the conduct which they pursued in obedience to the inveterate prejudices of Spain rather than to any calm and reasoned consideration of the subject. Nothing has occurred since the year 1810, which, in our apprehension, ought to alter the line of neutrality then adopted by England, and we are convinced that a strict and sincere adherence to it will not fail to secure the political and commercial advantages which a more violent course must expose to hazard. That we should have been diverted from it by the conduct of Ferdinand, or even by the revival of the Inquisition with all its dungeons, tortures, and *autos da fe*, is a proposition maintainable only by the advocates of perpetual hostilities, who might well rejoice, if the follies or faults of foreign monarchs, and the unjust or unwise measures of foreign nations with respect to their own internal affairs, were suffered to push the English government, by every impulse of disgust or indignation, to the extremity of war.

There is, however, a set of reasoners on this subject who must be reminded that England ought not on this, or on any occasion, to pursue an equivocal line of policy. Such conduct is sufficiently absurd in trivial matters and in the ordinary affairs of life, but in great political questions it is worse than weakness; it is always dangerous, and often fatal. At once to support Spain against her colonies, or the colonies against Spain, would be a more prudent and dignified course, than, under the mask of neutrality, to give an oblique encouragement to either party. Such conduct is quite inconsistent with the character of England; of which the best and the ancient distinction has been a direct, manly and avowed system of policy on all occasions, equally exempt from the vacillations of weakness and the shallow duplicity of artifice. We are not at present in a condition to sport with this inestimable advantage; but if we were, the last question on which the experiment should be tried, from its nature and consequences, is the revolution in Spanish America. The only interference in South American affairs, which we could adopt with consistency, with dignity, or with effect, would be the renewal (at the solicitation of either

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either party) of that mediation, the acceptance of which in 1810 might have saved years of distraction and bloodshed to the colonies; and the refusal of which (for such in effect it was) by Spain has gone near to render war desperate and reconciliation hopeless. But even in the offering, or the consenting to undertake such a mediation at the present moment, so far should we be from desiring to monopolize the fruits of its success, that we think the best hope of its coming to a favourable issue would be, that the other great powers of Europe should be parties to it in common with ourselves.

In reviewing the events of the revolution in South America, we cannot omit to notice the recent death of General Miranda, the author and the leader of the first attempt to obtain its political freedom; and it is impossible to mention the circumstances attending his death, without expressing the feelings of disgust and indignation, which in every civilized country they cannot fail to excite. Betrayed by a treacherous adherent to the Spanish general with whom he had concluded a formal capitulation, and in defiance of this treaty, (which contained on the one side an acknowledgment of the authority of the Cortes, and on the other a complete amnesty to all persons in his army, without exception,) he was conveyed to Spain, and after a rigorous confinement of four years, he expired in the prison of La Caraca near Cadiz. We have been informed, but we trust that our information is incorrect, that his domestics were prohibited by the monks and clergy of the place, in which he died, from giving the common tokens of respect to his remains, and that his effects were burnt, with every mark of ignominy and contempt. Miranda undoubtedly possessed one characteristic, perhaps the most distinctive, of a superior mind,—that of having selected an elevated and, in his opinion, an useful object of ambitious pursuit, and of having devoted, with steady perseverance to the successful attainment of it, his faculties, his fortune, and his life. His sincerity in the cause which he had undertaken cannot be questioned, for the last exertion he made for its success, and which terminated in his own captivity and death, was made against the advice of his more prudent friends; when the affairs of Venezuela, his native country, were in the most desperate condition, and when the cause itself, for which he made this sacrifice, was not less endangered by the treachery of its professed advocates, than by the superior forces of the Spaniards. An impartial observer of his career in America will discover the taint of Jacobinical principles which he had contracted in the service of Revolutionary France. He displayed them in his own country by an awkward imitation of the worst forms of the very worst times of the French assemblies. In the same school,
and

and amidst the contentions of rival commanders for the supreme power of the Republic, he acquired the habits of irregular ambition which exposed him to the jealousy and suspicion of his countrymen; which sullied the motives of his conduct and checked the career of his success in a cause, of which his talents, his knowledge and his experience, would have entitled him to be a leader.

It is with pain that we have remarked the peculiarly lawless and sanguinary nature of the war in all the Spanish colonies. No civil war of ancient or modern times can afford a parallel to these atrocities; and the cruelties of the Indian allies in the war of North America, exaggerated as they were by writers on both sides of the question, would sink in the comparison. Not only the common and conventional laws of nations, but the common feelings of human nature are outraged and despised,—the murder of prisoners, the perfidious violation of treaties, the unprovoked massacre of defenceless inhabitants seem to have been the ordinary resources of war to both the contending parties. We have seen a proclamation published by General Bolivar, at *Ocumare*, in July, 1816, in which he commands, 'that no European Spaniard shall be put to death, *excepting in battle*; that to those who surrender pardon shall be given, though *Spaniards*; and that the *war of death* shall cease.' For the honour of mankind it is to be hoped, that he will persevere in humanizing the mode of warfare, in which the belligerents had indulged their irritated passions. But it must be observed, that the example of humanity would have come with a better grace from those, whose obvious policy it is to conciliate, and who lay claim to a higher degree of civilization. It would have become the mother-country to practise in America the laws of civilized war, which she has learnt in Europe.

To attempt an historical narrative of the events of the war, would be to hazard our own character for veracity;—for such are the acrimony and violence which pervade the official documents on both sides, so completely have their contradictory relations succeeded in perverting or obscuring the truth, that we cannot pretend to more, than to sketch an outline of such recent transactions as are too notorious to be concealed, and too authentic to be misrepresented.

From the articles in Mr. Thompson's translation of Alcedo's Dictionary, (in which the impartiality of the narrative is not less to be admired than the variety and accuracy of the general information,) and from 'the Outline of the Revolution in Spanish America,' a correct notion of these events to a late period may be collected. The latter work is evidently written by a person, who has enjoyed access to the best sources of information and has probably

bably been himself engaged in some of the transactions which he has described: the general bias of the author is in favour of the colonists, but he does not endeavour to conceal the misconduct of their leaders, to magnify their victories, or to diminish those of the Spaniards.

The provinces of Venezuela and of New Granada have constantly preserved some connexion in their operations, though governed by separate and independent congresses;—they were entirely free, until the earthquake, which in March, 1812, destroyed the towns of La Guayra, Merida, and Caracas; and under their ruins crushed many thousands of the inhabitants, and buried the stores of arms and ammunition destined for the service of their armies. This tremendous calamity occurred on Holy Thursday; and the impression, which one of the most solemn rites of the Catholic religion makes at all times on the superstitious population of the Spanish colonies, was aggravated by the recollection that it was the anniversary of their revolution. Of this circumstance the priests in the interest of the royalists took advantage, and confusion and despondency were introduced into the affairs of the republic. Miranda, having been appointed dictator, was, after a brave and skilful resistance, obliged to propose a capitulation to the Spanish General Monteverde, by which the constitution proposed for Spain by the Cortes, was accepted for Venezuela.

Caracas was in consequence possessed by the royalists, with the rest of the provinces; and Miranda himself, betrayed to the Spaniards, was imprisoned and soon afterwards conveyed to Spain.—The royalists conducted themselves in Venezuela with a degree of severity and imprudence which could not long be tolerated. Don Simon Bolivar, who had been one of the deputies from the colonies to England in 1810, having raised an army of less than a thousand men in New Granada, after several successful battles with the royalists, entered the town of Caracas, as a deliverer, on the 4th of August, 1813.—To a reader, accustomed to contemplate the myriads, which have been arrayed against each other in the wars of Europe, nothing can appear more singular and striking than the contrast between the insignificance of the means, and the magnitude of the objects in dispute in South America, as well as the immense extent of the regions, which are the seat of these diminutive campaigns.

Bolivar continued to attack with success the remaining forces of the royalists, and having offered the resignation of his authority into the hands of a Representative Assembly, was by them formally appointed the sole dictator. In order to recover their superiority, the Spaniards had recourse to the desperate and indefensible mea-

sure of a general liberation and arming of the slaves; and by these means raised an army or rather an armed rabble of above seventy thousand men, by whom Bolivar was beaten in a general action at the distance of fifty leagues from the capital. He had committed the fault of dividing his army, already inferior in numbers to that of his opponents. The Spanish General Bores occupied Venezuela in 1814, and Bolivar fled to Carthagena, which city General Morillo, who had arrived from Spain with ten thousand men, (the only considerable expedition that Spain has been able to send to America,) besieged in the summer of 1815—and took, after an obstinate resistance of four months, in the course of which a great part of the defenders had perished by famine.

Bolivar, with the assistance of Brion, a naval officer, and a man of considerable wealth, and of General M'Gregor, who had served in the English army on the Peninsula, directed another expedition against the royalists in Venezuela; which, though he was himself defeated, has partially succeeded. The royalists appear to be still in possession of the principal towns, but great part of the country is occupied by the Independent armies or roving bands of *Guerillas*. They have also, under M'Gregor, occupied the island of Amelia, which contains an excellent harbour, and affords them an easy communication with their friends in the United States. The island of Margarita, and part of the provinces of Cumana and Maracaybo, are in their power, and Bolivar was, at the date of the last accounts, still at the head of affairs.

The provinces composing the viceroyalty of New Granada, after violent civil contests, had established a system of general federation, and appointed Nurino general of their forces, united to oppose the royalists, who had exasperated the whole country, by having, upon the capture of Quito, put to death one in every five of the inhabitants, by whom it had been defended. Nurino was for some time victorious, but was at length taken prisoner in June, 1814;—and the cause which had prospered by his conduct and talents was materially depressed.

The congress of New Granada, not dispirited by failure, employed Bolivar in December, 1814, to compel the province of Cundinamarca, with the capital Santa Fé di Bogota, to submit to their form of government. In this object he succeeded—and the congress proceeded to hold their sittings in that capital. The troops of New Granada were then employed by Bolivar in reducing Carthagena, of which the governor, Castillo, resisted his supreme authority. While the armies were fighting for this point of civil dissension, Morillo arrived, to whom both parties were obliged to surrender.

Pursuing his success, Morillo captured Santa Fé in June, 1816,
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after a spirited resistance of the Independents. From the intercepted dispatches of this general to the Spanish government (for they are not *all* fabrications) it is evident that in many of the provinces of New Granada the war is still carried on against Spain, that the spirit of independence is no where destroyed, and that unless Spain is able to supply her armies with constant re-inforcements, they will soon be unequal to resist the *Guerrillas* by whom the country is overrun.

The colony of Mexico is on many accounts the leading object of anxiety to the mother-country in the present contest. The population exceeds six millions, that of the capital alone is 140,000. Humboldt states it to be the most civilized of the Spanish colonies, and its mines, its harbours, and its position render it the most valuable. Tranquillity had been preserved as long as the archbishop was viceroy, but a conspiracy having been formed by some Spanish officers and a curate named Hidalgo, who had acquired singular influence over the Indians, the revolution began to wear a formidable appearance. They appeared in arms soon after the arrival of the viceroy Venegas—Hidalgo at the head of a motley army of eighty thousand men seized the royal treasure at Goanaxuato and possessed himself of some of the richest mines. He assumed the banners of the ancient emperors of Mexico, and displayed the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe, the favourite object of Catholic worship in Mexico. Hidalgo marched within a few leagues of the city of Mexico, and if there had been in its walls any active party in his favour, the forces of Venegas were so inferior and so dispirited, that it must have fallen into his hands. But the archbishop and the Inquisition having published a solemn decree of excommunication against him, the inhabitants of the city and of the province remained passive spectators of the contest. After a long delay before the city, which gave his opponents the opportunity of collecting their forces, he withdrew in some confusion. His army was pursued and defeated by the Spanish general Calleja. It is a remarkable fact that in the towns submitting to his power, he issued a coinage with the head of Ferdinand the Seventh.—Having been twice defeated by the Spaniards, he was treacherously attacked and taken prisoner by a general of the Independents, and himself with all his officers were put to death. Several chiefs continued a desultory war, of whom Rayon a lawyer, and Morelos a priest, were the most conspicuous; they formed a junta, which still acknowledged Ferdinand. Calleja took Zitiquaro, the residence of this junta, and most barbarously as well as most unwisely razed to the ground every building in it. Morelos, after many actions with the royalists, and after destroying the royal magazines of tobacco, which were of the greatest value, took the town

of Acapulco, and effectually stopped the communication between Vera Cruz and Mexico. The Junta was succeeded by a Congress, which met at a distance of forty leagues from Mexico, and framed and published a democratic constitution. Acapulco has been retaken by the Spaniards; but the colonists, having fitted out privateers in the Gulph of Mexico, have been able to receive supplies of arms, ammunition, and officers—they have been joined by the French general Humbert, and by Mina, son of Mina, whose name was illustrious in the Spanish war.—The accounts of very recent transactions are incomplete and obscure. It would, however, appear, that the province of Puebla is still occupied by the Independents, and that nearly all the other provinces are traversed by bodies of armed men, who intercept the course of trade, and prevent the working of the mines, and even the common occupation of agriculture—Don Juan Apodaca, who resided in England as Spanish minister for several years, is the present viceroy, and having abandoned the policy in which his predecessors had in vain persevered, has adopted with success the wiser system of mildness and reconciliation.

When the Spanish government of Buenos Ayres was overthrown, a Junta on the model of those existing in Spain was immediately appointed. This example was followed by the province of Chili, which, secure in itself, sent military succours to the government of Buenos Ayres. A considerable army was dispatched to the provinces of Upper Peru, from which the royalists were then expelled. But their commander, Goyeneche, taking advantage of the violent dissensions among the chiefs of the Independents, reconquered the country, and unless he had resorted to the measures of cruelty, which have in all parts of the American continent exasperated those, who are not in this manner to be subdued, he probably would have been able to retain it. The town of Monte Video was defended against the colonists by General Elio, assisted with troops and money by the Portuguese. A capitulation was concluded between the parties, by which the Portuguese were bound to quit the place, and to return to the Brazils; they, however, still continued to commit hostilities, and the colonial forces were marching against them, when the Portuguese minister, Sousa, having died, his successor proposed terms of honourable peace, and of a mutual guarantee, which were accepted. A constituent assembly having been elected at Buenos Ayres it chose an executive government of three individuals; but the armies in Peru having been frequently defeated by the royalists, and the public mind being alarmed, Don G. Pozadas was named supreme director, with a council of seven members. Another contest arose with Monte-Video, which was taken in 1814 by

by Colonel Alvear. But the capitulation, by which the Spanish garrison were permitted to embark for Spain, was violated; the violation was defended on the ground of retaliating the conduct of the Spanish generals in Peru, by whom every advantage had been taken in defiance of armistices and treaties.

The government of Buenos Ayres refused to surrender Monte Video to General Artigas, who claimed it as chief of the provinces on the eastern bank of the Plata, and who, having possessed himself of part of Paraguay, had assumed independent power: he gained possession of the town, continued to make war upon Buenos Ayres, and defeated the army that was sent to dispossess him. After frequent changes of government, and many popular commotions, a new congress was elected, which named Don M. Puyredon sole and supreme director, and which published a formal declaration of the independence of the provinces in July, 1816. The Portuguese government, constantly tormented by the ambition of extending their enormous dominions to the river La Plata, broke the articles of the treaty, and advancing under General Lecor to Maldonado, entered Monte Video without resistance in January, 1817. The Portuguese force is still there; but all is independent of Spain.

The provinces of Chili having assembled a congress, and the country being disturbed by the ambition of three brothers, named Carrera, who had usurped the chief authority, the viceroy of Lima sent an army there in 1813, which gained partial success, but made no considerable progress. The colonists had deposed Carrera, and given the command to O'Higgins, a brave and skillful officer. The independent troops were on the point of fighting in this civil contest, when it was announced to them, that the viceroy of Lima refused to ratify an armistice, by which Chili was to have sent a certain number of deputies to the Cortes in Spain, while its new government was to be acknowledged. The Spanish general, after several actions with O'Higgins, took all the principal towns of Chili, in the autumn of 1814, and sent the chiefs of the Independents to the desert island of Juan Fernandez. But the government of Buenos Ayres foreseeing, in the success of the Spaniards, the danger to their own cause, dispatched an army under General San Martin, which crossing the great chain of the Andes, and having defeated the royalists in a general action near Santiago, succeeded in restoring the former congress in February, 1817. Their success has, in every instance, been materially assisted by the oppressive and impolitic measures of the Spanish generals and governors.

From this brief outline it will appear that Lower Peru is in fact the only colony of Spain in America, in which no independent go-

vernment has been formed, and in which the authority of Spain has been maintained without interruption. There have been many conspiracies at Lima, but they have hitherto failed in their objects. The principal reason of this exception seems to be, that there is in that province a greater number of large capitalists and opulent slave-holders than in the other American provinces, who are naturally interested in preventing the success of any commotion which may alter the state of property and of power, and may deprive them of their exclusive privileges.

Perhaps the most important changes in the relative condition of the belligerents in America, will result from the equipment of naval forces—by the Caraccas, under the command of Brion, and by Buenos Ayres, under Admiral Brown. Their vessels have been the means of communication between the colonies, too distant to have acted with concert; and they have already assailed the trade of Spain in the South Seas, and even in sight of Cadiz. The appearance on the high seas of independent flags, not acknowledged by the European powers, must raise questions of public law, of which the decision, involving considerations of the greatest political importance, will be difficult and embarrassing. But all nations know what is due to pirates; and the tribunals of maritime law will not be embarrassed in disposing of those, whose object has been general and lawless plunder.

In this rapid sketch of affairs so various and complicated, the fear of being prolix must be our apology for many omissions. But we cannot dismiss the subject of South America without some remarks on the increase of trade which England may derive from an intercourse with that country. With an extensive line of coast, with numerous navigable rivers, which, like great arteries, intersect the continent, and form abundant channels for internal traffic, with a population of seventeen millions, which was increasing before the present war, and must rapidly increase under an improved system of government, without any manufactures of consequence, and possessing in abundance the precious metals—South America presents a market to the skill and enterprize of our merchants, which we hope and believe will not long be withheld from them.

Whatever may be the issue of the contest in South America, whether the colonies become independent nations, or whether they continue to be governed by Spain, advantages must accrue to British commerce. On this point we cannot better express our opinion than in the words of Lord Grenville, who in his celebrated speech on the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company, rejoiced in the hope of our acquiring ‘a free trade with the rich kingdoms of South America, a country hitherto barred against

against us as much by the monopolies of its own government as by our own, but now at last, by the course of events no longer within the control of man, opened, *in every case I trust*, infallibly opened to the commerce of the world.'

The exports of the colonies, which, we believe, have not hitherto exceeded eighteen millions sterling in value, are peculiarly adapted to the taste and to the necessities of the European nations. Humboldt states their total of imports from Europe at £13,320,000. A rapid increase in quantity and value of both must follow the abandonment of the restrictive policy, which has not been more pernicious to their welfare than to the real interests of Spain. There is a curious proof of the rapid increase in the prosperity of one of the most important of those colonies, which we shall adduce on the authority of Mr. Thompson. While the provinces of La Plata were not admitted to the advantages of a separate vice-royalty, and of a fair competition with the other American provinces, we find the annual average of exports from La Plata, from the years 1748 to 1753, amounted to 1,677,250 of dollars; but from the year 1795 to 1796, after the introduction of a better system of trade and of government the same average was 4,744,173.

It may be fairly inferred from this fact, as well as from the rapid advance of their trade after the partial opening of 1778, that no calculation can be drawn from the past or present produce of the Spanish colonies, as to the future results of their free intercourse with Europe—these must be influenced by another cause, of which the effects are also incalculable. It had been a favourite part of the perverse policy of Spain, to exclude all her colonies from any share in the general advancement of knowledge. But this exclusion can in no case be continued. It would be as easy to turn the current of the Orinoko.

It was indeed idle to suppose that the system had been perfectly successful before the revolution. In defiance of the Inquisition, which has become in America as in Spain, an instrument of police, rather than of religion, the inhabitants of South America had long been sufficiently enlightened to reflect and reason on their own condition; and as human nature turns most eagerly to what is most severely interdicted, they had also long been in the habit of procuring and studying the works of the French philosophers and politicians. This state of partial and imperfect knowledge has been injurious to their interests, by misleading them to an imitation of the revolutionary forms and doctrines of France in the reign of jacobinical phrenzy. But their present intercourse with the United States and with Europe will rapidly augment their means of information, and will enlighten them on every point of public welfare and of private happiness. With the increase of knowledge will arise the wants, the refinements, and the varied pursuits of civilization.

The desire of possessing the productions of foreign countries will become more active, and it will produce a reciprocal advantage,—to the colonists, in the improvement of their industry, and consequently of their happiness;—to the foreign trader, in the abundance of the means and resources of a valuable commerce.

We look forward with ardent and sincere hope, not only as friends to the commercial and political interests of England, but as *men* interested in the welfare and improvement of our fellow-creatures, to such auspicious changes in the condition of the American people. We trust the time will come, when, released from the state of exile to which they have been too long condemned, they will at length be admitted into the pale of European intercourse—when they will enjoy the arts and the knowledge of this quarter of the globe, of which they have extended and preserved the language and the religion. But, impressed with these feelings, we confess that we should prefer exporting to them our commodities rather than our out-cast patriots. We cannot be of opinion that the part which France chose to play in the disturbances of North America should now be repeated by England in the South. We cannot, in compliment to the freedom of any country, abjure all regard for the honour and interests of our own. Even if we were professed advocates of the colonists, we should have enforced the desirableness of an absolute neutrality on the part of all the nations of Europe. No one of them could interfere in the quarrel, but least of all, England, without exciting rival nations to take their part in the war; and infecting America with the intrigues and perplexities of European policy. As Englishmen we have expressed our opinions and our hopes, that no hostile interference in the contest between Spain and her colonies, that no equivocal system of partiality to either side will hazard the loss of those advantages which must ultimately result, in the natural course of events, from our perseverance in the policy adopted at the beginning of the war. That policy consists in the observance of a fair, declared, unambiguous neutrality so long as our national honour is respected by both parties, and our good offices are not called for by either to heal those dissensions which we are determined not to aggravate and inflame: and it would lead (in the event of such a call being made upon us) to an active and impartial exercise of those good offices, for the purpose of effecting, on equitable and reasonable terms, a reconciliation, by which the respective claims and interests of the mother-country and the South American provinces might be acknowledged and adjusted, and the peace of the new world consolidated with that of the old.

ERRATA.

p. 196, for Agamemnon read Achilles.

242, for supported by read supporting.

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